Hindu Rashtra Darshan

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Contents: --

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Presidential Address- 19th Session of the Akhil Bhartiya Hindu Mahasabha held at Karnavati-1937 (Ahmedabad)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I thank you most cordially for the trust you have placed in me in calling upon me to preside on this 19th Session of the Hindu Mahasabha, I don't take it so much as an honour bestowed upon me by my nation for service rendered in the past as a command to dedicate whatever strength is still left in me to the Sacred Cause of defending Hindudom and Hindustan-our common Motherland and our common Holyland, and pressing on the fight for our National Freedom. So far as the Hindus are concerned there can be no distinction nor conflict in the least between our Communal and National duties, as the best interests of Hindudom are simply identified with best interests of Hindustan as a whole. Hindudom cannot advance or fulfill its life mission unless and until our Motherland is set free and consolidated into an Indian state in which all our countrymen to whatever religion or sect or race they belong are treated with perfect equality and none allowed to dominate others or is deprived of his just and equal rights of free citizenship as long as everyone discharges the common obligations and duties which one owes to the Indian Nation as a whole. The truer a Hindu is to himself as a Hindu he must inevitably grow a truer National as well shall substantiate this point later on as I proceed.

With this conviction and from this point of view, I shall deal in this my presidential address with some fundamental aspects of the Hindu Sanghatan Movement as expounded by this Mahasabha or as I understand them and leave detailed and passing questions, to be deliberated upon and decided, to the representatives assembled in this Session.

Homage to the Independent Hindu Kingdom of Nepal

But before proceeding further I feel it my bounden duty to send forth on behalf of all Hindus our loyal and loving greeting to His Majesty the king of Nepal, His Highness Shree Yuddhsamasher Ranajee – the prime minister of Nepal and all of our coreligionists and countrymen there , who have even in the darkest hour of our History , been successful in holding out as Hindu Power and in keeping a flag of Hindu Independence flying unsullied on the summit of the Himalayas. The kingdom of Nepal stands out today as the only Hindu Kingdom in the world whose independence is recognized by England,France,Italy and other great powers.Amongest some twenty five crores of our Hindus in this generation, His Majesty the king of Nepal is the first and foremost and the only Hindu today who can enter in the assemblage of kings, Emperors and Presidents of all the independent nations in the world, with head erect and unbend ,as an equal amongst equal. In spite of the passing political aspect of the question, Nepal is bound to Hindudom as a whole by the dearest ties of a common race and religion and language and culture, inheriting with us this our common Motherland and our common Holyland. Our life is one whatever contributes to the strength of the Hindudom as a whole ,must strength

Nepal and whatever progress the latter records is bound to elevate the first. Hence all Sanghatanist Hindus long to see that the only independent Hindu kingdom is rapidly brought to an up-to-date efficiency ,political .social ,and above all military and aerial so as to enable Her to hold out Her own in the National struggle for existence that is going on all around us and march on the fulfil the great and glorious destiny that awaits Her ahead.

Message of Sympathy to the Hindus in the Greater Hindustan

Nor can this Session of Hindu Mahasabha forget to send forth its message of sympathy and loving remembrances to those of our co-religionists and countrymen abroad who have been building a greater Hindustan without the noise of drums and trumpets in Africa, America ,Mauritius and such other parts of the world and also to those who as in the island of Bali are still holding out as remnant of the ancient world ,Empire of our Hindu race. Their fortunes too are inextricably bound up with the freedom and strength and greatness of Bharatvarsha which is the `PitruBhoo' – the Fatherland and the Holyland as a whole.

Hindustan must ever remain one and indivisible

Nor can the Hindu Mahasabha afford to be forgetful of the Hindus who reside in the so-called `French India' and `Portuguese India' In India ! the very words sound preposterous and insulting to us. Apart from the artificial and enforced political divisions of today we are indissolubly bound together by the enduring ties of blood and religion and country. We must declare, as an ideal at any rate, that Hindustan of tomorrow must be one and indivisible not only a united but a Unitarian nation from Kashmir to Rameshwar, from Sindh to Assam. I hope that not only the Mahasabha but even the Congress and such other National bodies in Hindustan will not find shy of claiming Gomantak, Pondicherry, and such other parts of Hindustan as parts as inalienable and integral of our nation as is Maharashtra or Bengal or Punjab.

The definition of the word `Hindu'

As the whole superstructure of the mission and the function of the Hindu Mahasabha rests in the correct definition of the word `Hindu', we must first of all make it clear what `Hindutva' really means. Once the scope and the meaning of the world is defined and understood, a number of misgivings in our own camp are easily removed, a number of misunderstandings and objections raised against us from the camp of our opponents are met and silenced. Fortunately for us, after a lot of wandering in wilderness, a definition of the word Hindu which is not only historically and logically as sound as possible in the cases of such comprehensive terms, but it also eminently workable is already hit upon when `Hindutva' was defined as:-

आसिंधुसिंधुपर्यंता यस्य भारतभूमिका
पितृभूः पुण्यभूयैश्चैव स वै हिंदुरितिस्मृतः

`Everyone who regards and claims this Bharatbhoomi from , the Indus to the Seas as his Fatherland and Holyland is a Hindu.' Here I must point out that it is rather loose to say that any person professing any religion of Indian origin is a Hindu. Because that is only one aspect of Hindutva. The second and equally essential constituent of the concept of Hindutva cannot be ignored if we want to save the definition from getting overlapping and unreal. It is not enough that a person should profess any religion of Indian origin, i.e., recognize Hindustan as his Punyabhoo, his Holyland, but he must also recognize it as his Pitrubhoo to, his Fatherland as well. As this is no place for going into the whole discussion of the pros and cons of the question, all I can do here is to refer to my book Hindutva' in which I have set forth all arguments and expounded the proposition at great length. I shall content myself at present by stating that Hindudom is bound and marked out as a people and a nation by themselves not by the only tie of a common Holyland in which their religion took birth but by the ties of a common culture, a common language, a common history and essentially of a common Fatherland as well. It is these two constituents taken together that constitute our Hindutva and distinguish us from any other people in the world. That is why the Japanese and the Chinese ,e.g., do not and cannot regard themselves as fully identified with the Hindus. Both of them regard our Hindustan as their Holy land, the Land which was the cradle of their religion ,but they do not and cannot look upon Hindustan as their Father land too. They are our co-religionists ;but are not and cannot be our countrymen too. We Hindus are not only co-religionist ,but even countrymen of each other. The Japanese and the Chinese have a different ancestry ,language,culture,History and country of their own ,which are not so integrally bound up with us as to constitute a common National life. In a religious assembly of the Hindus, in any Hindu Dharma-Mahasabha they can join with us as our brother-in-faith having a common Holyland.But they will not and cannot take a common part or have a common interest in a Hindu Mahasabha which united Hindus together and represent their National life. A definition must in the main respond to reality. Just as by the first constituent of Hindutva,the possession of the common Holyland – the Indian Mohammedans ,Jews,Cristians ,Parses,etc.are excluded from claiming themselves as Hindus which in reality also they do not, - in spite of their recognizing Hindustan as their Fatherland , so also on the other hand the second constituent of the definition that of possessing a common Father land exclude the Japanes,the Chinese and others from the Hindu fold in spite of the fact of their having a Holyland in common with us. The above definition had already been adopted by number of prominent Hindu Sabhas such as the Nagpur,Poona,Ratnagiri HinduSabhas, and others. The Hindu Mahasabha also had in view this very definition when the word Hindu was rather loosely explained in its present constitution as `one who professes any religion of Indian origin'. I submit that the time has come when we should be more accurate and replace that partial description by regular definition and incorporate in the constitution the full verse itself translating it in the precise terms as rendered above.

Avoid the loose and harmful misuse of the word Hindu

From this correct definition of Hindutva it necessarily follows that we should take all possible care to restrict the use of the word Hindu to its defined and definite general meaning only and avoid misusing it in any sectarian sence.In common parlance even our esteemed leaders and writers who on the one hand are very particular in emphasizing that our non-Vedic religious schools are also included in the common Hindu brotherhood, commit on the other hand ,the serious mistake of using such expressions as `Hindus and Sikhs' , `Hindus and Jains' denoting thereby unconsciously that only Vediks or Sanatanists only are Hindus and thus quite unawares inculcate the deadly virus of separation in the minds of the different constituents of our religious brotherhood ,defeating our own eager desire to consolidate then all into a harmonious and organic whole. Confusion in words leads to confusion in thoughts. If we take good care not to identify the term Hindu with the major Vedic section of our people alone, our non-Vedic brothers such as Sikhs, the Jains and others will find no just reason to resent the application of the word `Hindu' in their case also. Those who hold to the opinion that Sikhism ,Jainism and such other religions that go to form our Hindu brotherhood are neither the branches of nor originated from the Vedas but the independent religions by themselves need to cherish any fear or suspicion of losing their independence as a religious school by being called Hindus if the application is rightly used only to denote all those who own India, this Bharatbhoomi,as their Holyland and Fatherland. Whenever we want to discriminate the constituents of Hindudom as a whole we should designate them as `Vaidics and Sikhs',`Vedics and Jains' etc.But to say `Hindus and Sikhs' , `Hindus and Jains' is as self-contradictory and misleading as to say "Hindus and Brahmins" or "Jains and Digambers" or "Sikhs and Akalees".Such a harmful misuse of the word Hindu should be carefully avoided especially in the speeches ,resolutions and records of our Hindu Mahasabha.

The word "Hindu" is of Vedic origin

We may mention here in passing that the word Hindu is not a denomination which the foreigners applied to us in contempt otherwise but is derived from our Vedic application of सप्त सिंधु (Saptasindhus) a fact which is fully dealt with in my book on Hindutva and is borne out by the name of one of our provinces and people bordering on the Indus who are being called down to this day as सिंध्य and सिंधी .

The Hindu Mahasabha is in the main not a religious but a national body

From this above discussion it necessarily follows that the concept of the term Hindutva –Hinduness-is more comprehensive than the word `Hinduism'. It was to draw a pointed attention to this distinction that I had coined the words `HINDUTVA',`Pan Hindu' and Hindudom when I framed the definition of the word "Hindu". Hinduism concerns with the religious systems of the Hindus ,their theology and dogma. But this is precisely a matter which this Hindu Mahasabha leaves entirely to individual or group conscience and faith. The Mahasabha takes its stand on no dogma, no book or school of philosophy whether pantheist, monotheist or atheist. All that it is concerned with, so far as a "ism " is concerned ,is the common characteristic, which a Hindu , by the very fact

of professing allegiance to a religion or faith of Indian origin necessarily possesses in regarding India as his Holyland , as his पुण्य भू – the cradle and the temple of his faith.

Thus while only indirectly concerned with Hinduism which is only one of the many aspects of "Hindutva" , the Mahasabha is mainly concerned with other aspects of Hindutva resulting from the second constituent of possessing a common Fatherland. The Mahasabha is not in the main a Hindu-Dharma-Sabha but it is pre-eminently a Hindu-Rashtra-Sabha and is a Pan-Hindu organization shaping the destiny of the Hindu Nation in all its social, political and cultural aspects. Those who commit the serious mistake of taking the Hindu Mahasabha for only a religious body would do well to keep this distinction in mind.

The Hindus are a Nation by themselves

Some cavil at the position I have taken that the Hindu Mahasabha as I understand its mission , is pre-eminently a national body and challenge me-`How the Hindus who differ so much amongst themselves in every detail of life could at all be called a nation as such?' To them my reply is that no people on the earth are so homogenous as to present perfect uniformity in language, culture ,race , and religion. A people is marked out a nation by themselves not so much by the absence of any heterogeneous differences amongst themselves as by the fact of their differing from other peoples more markedly than they differ amongst themselves. Even those who deny the fact that the Hindus could be called a nation by themselves , do recognize Great Britain ,the United States , Russia ,Germany and other peoples as a nation. What is the test by which those peoples are called themselves ? Take Great Britain as an example. There are at any rate three different languages there ; they have fought amongst themselves dreadfully in the past, there are to be found the traces of different seeds and bloods and races. If you say that in spite of it all they are a nation because they possess a common country, a common language ,a common culture and common Holyland then the Hindus too possess a common country so well marked out as Hindustan , a common language the Sanskrit from which all their current languages are derived or are nourished and which forms even today the common language of their Scriptures and literature and which is held in esteem as the sacred reservoir of ancient scriptures and the tongue of their forefathers. By `Anuloma' and `Pratiloma' marriages their seed and blood continued to get commingled even since the days of Manu. Their social festivals and cultural forms are not less common than those we find in England. They possess the common Holy land . The Vedic Rishis are their common pride, their *Grammarians* Panini and Patanjali , their poets Bhavabhooti and Kalidas ,their heroes Shri Ram and Shri Krishna , Shivaji and Pratap , Guru Govind and Banda are a source of common inspiration. Their prophets Buddha and Mahavir ,Kanad and Shankar , are held common esteem. Like their ancient and sacred language – the Sanskrit – their scripts also are fashioned on the same basis and the Nagari script has been the common vehicle of their sacred writing since centuries in the past. Their ancient and modern history is common. They have friends and enemies in common. They have faced common dangers and victories in common. One in national glory and one in national disasters , one in national despairs and one in national hope and Hindus are welded together during a eons of a common life and a common habitat. Above all the

Hindus are bound together by the dearest , most sacred and most enduring bonds of a common Father land and a common Holy land, and these two being identified with one and the same country our Bharatbhumi, our India , the National oneness and homogeneity of the Hindus have been doubly sure. If the United states with the warring crowds of Negroes , Germans and Anglo-Saxons , with a common past not exceeding four or five centuries put together can be called a Nation- then the Hindus must be entitled to be recognized as a nation par excellence. *Verily the Hindus as a people differs markedly from any other people in the world than they differ amongst themselves.* All tests whatsoever of a common country ,race, religion, and language that go to entitle a people to form a nation , entitle the Hindus with greater emphasis to that claim. And whatever differences divide the Hindus amongst themselves are rapidly disappearing owing to their awakening of the national consciousness and the Sanghatan and the social reform movements of today.

Therefore the Hindu Mahasabha that has ,as formulated in its current constitution , set before itself the task of ` the maintenance , protection and promotion of the Hindu race , culture and civilization for the advancement and glory of "Hindu Rashtra" is pre-eminently a national body representing the Hindu Nation as a whole.

Is this mission of the Mahasabha narrow, anti – Indian and Parochial aim?

Some of our well meaning but unthinking section of Indian patriots who look down upon the Mahasabha as a communal, narrow and anti Indian body only because it represents Hindudom and tries to protect its just rights , forget the fact that communal and parochial are only relative terms and do not by themselves imply a condemnation or curse. Are not they themselves who swear by the name of Indian Nationalism in season and out of season liable to the same charge of parochial ness? If the Mahasabha represents the Hindu Nation only, they claim to represent the Indian Nation alone. But is not the concept of an Indian Nation itself a parochial conception in relation to Human State? In fact the earth is our mother land and Humanity our Nation . Nay ,the Vedantist goes further and claims this Universe for his country and all manifestation from the stars to the stone his own self. "आमचा स्वदेश ! भुवनत्रयामध्ये वास ! " says Tukaram !Why then take the Himalayas to cut us off from the rest of mankind , deem ourselves as separate Nation as Indians and fight with every other country and the English in particular who after all are our brothers-in-Humanity ! Why not sacrifice Indian interests to those of the British Empire which is a larger political synthesis ? The fact is that all Patriotism is more or less parochial and communal and is responsible for dreadful wars through out human history. Thus the Indian patriots who instead of starting and joining some movement of a Universal state, stop short of it, join an Indian movement and yet continue to mock at the Hindu Sanghatan as narrow and communal and parochial succeed only in mocking at themselves.

But if it is said justification of Indian patriotism that the people who populate India are more akin to each other bound by ties of a common ancestry, language, culture, history etc. than they are to any other people outside India and therefore we Indians feel it our first duty to protect our Nation from our political domination and aggressive of other

non-Indian nations then, the same reason could be adduced to justify the Hindu Sanghatan Movement as well.

When national, communal, or parochial movements are harmful to Humanity?

No movement is condemnable simply because it is sectional. So long as it tries to defend the just and fundamental rights of a particular nation or people or community against the unjust and overbearing aggression of other human aggregates and does not infringe on an equal just rights and liberties of others, it can not be condemned or looked down simply because the nation or community is a smaller aggregate in itself. But when a nation or community treads upon the rights of sister nation or communities and aggressively stands in the way of forming larger associations and aggregates of mankind, its nationalism or communalism becomes condemnable from a human point of view. This is the acid test of distinguishing a justifiable nationalism or communalism from an unjust and harmful one. The Hindu Sanghatan movement, call it national, communal or parochial as you like, stands as much justified by this real test as our Indian Patriotism can be.

The Hindu Mahasabha is perfectly National in its outlook

For what does the Hindu Mahasabha aim it at? As the national representative body of Hindudom it aims at the all-round regeneration of Hindu people. But the absolute political independence of Hindustan is a *sine qua non* for that all-round regeneration of Hindudom. The fortunes of the Hindus are more inextricably and more closely bound up with India than that of any other non-Hindu section of our countrymen. After all the Hindus are the bedrock on which on Indian independent state could be built.

Whatever may happen some centuries hence, the solid fact of today cannot be ignored that religion wields mighty influence on the minds of men in Hindustan and in the case of Mohammedans especially their religious zeal, more often than not, borders on fanatism! Their love towards India as their motherland is but a handmaid to their love for their Holy land outside India. Their faces are ever turned towards Mecca and Madina. But to the Hindus Hindustan being their Fatherland as well as their Holy land, the love they bear to Hindustan is undivided and absolute. They not only form the overwhelming majority of Indian population but also have on the whole been the trusted champions of her cause. A Mohammedans is often found to cherish an extra-territorial allegiance, is moved more by events in Palestine that what concerns India as a Nation, worries himself more about the well-being of the Arabs than the well-being of his Hindu neighbours and countrymen in India. Thousands of Mohammedans could be found conspiring with the Turkish Khilaphatists and Afghans with an object to bring about a foreign invasion of India if but a Mohammedan rule could thus be established in this land. But to a Hindu, India is all in all of his National being. That is the reason why the Hindus predominate in the struggle that is going on for the overthrow of the political domination of England over this country. It is the Hindus who went to the gallows, faced transportations to the Andamans by hundreds and got imprisoned by thousands in a fight for the liberation of Hindustan. Even the Indian National Congress owes its inception to Hindu brain, its

growth to Hindu sacrifice, its present position to Hindu labours in the main. ***A Hindu patriot worth the name cannot but be an Indian patriot as well.*** In this sense the consolidation and the independence of Hindu Nation is but other another name for the independence of the Indian Nation as a whole. For, the Hindu Sanghatanists know full well that no regeneration of Hindudom could be brought about and no honour and equal place could be secured for the Hindu Nation amongst the Nations of the world unless ***Swarajya*** and ***Swatantrya*** are own for Hindustan, their Fatherland and Holy land.

But what does this Independence of India - this स्वराज्य or स्वातंत्र्य *mean?*

In common parlance स्वराज्य is understood as the political Freedom of our country, of our land, the Independence of the geographical unit called India. But the time has come when these expressions must be fully analyzed and understood. A country or geographical unit does not in itself constitute a nation. Our country is endeared it has been the abode of our race, our people, our dearest and nearest relations and such is only metaphorically referred to, to express our national being, The independence of India means, therefore, the independence of our people, our race, our nation. Therefore Indian swarajya or Indian swatantrya means, as far as the Hindu Nation is concerned, the political independence of the Hindus, the freedom which would enable them to grow to their full height.

Only geographically speaking India as a land a state was absolutely independent of any other non-Indian powers when an Allauddin Khalajee or an Aurangzeb ruled over her. But that kind of independence of India proved a veritable death-warrant to the Hindu Nation. That is why Sanga and Pratap, Guru Govind Sing and Bir Banda, Shivaji and Bajirao fought and fell and won in the end and established a Hindu empire under the Marathas, the Rajputs, the Sikhs, the Gurkhas throughout our Motherland and saved our Hindudom from the clutches of the non-Hindu aggression. Does it not prove to a hilt that merely the geographical independence or swarajya of India does not mean the independence of Hindu Nation- nay, may at times prove a positive curse to their race?

India is dear to us because it has been and the home of our Hindu race, the land which has been the cradle of our prophets and heroes and gods and god men. Otherwise land for land there may be a many a country as rich in gold and silver on the face of the earth. River for river the Mississippi is nearly as good as the Ganges and its waters are not altogether bitter. The stones and trees and greens in Hindustan are just as good or bad stones and trees and greens of the respective species elsewhere. Hindustan is a Fatherland and Holy land to us not because it is a land entirely like any other land in the world but because it is associated with our History, has been the home of our forefathers, wherein our mothers gave us the first suckle at their breast and our fathers cradled us on their knees from generation to generation.

The cottage wherein our beloved dwell, grows dearer to our eyes than a palace elsewhere. But let the dear faces disappear from it and go to dwell elsewhere and the cottage shrinks suddenly to the wretched hut that it was. We discard it and follow our beloved to their new abode. So with the nations also. Look at the Jews or Parsees! When

the Arabians invaded them and only a choice was left to them between their land and their racial and cultural identity they left the land rather than their religious and racial identity and with their book and culture went away in search of a more congenial abode. They refused to barter away their racial soul for a mere mess of pottage, a mere bit of lifeless earth!

The real meaning of swarajya then, is not merely the geographical independence of the bit of earth called India. To the Hindus independence of Hindustan can only be worth having if that ensures their Hindutva- their religious, racial and cultural identity. We are not out to fight and die for a `swarajya' which could only be had at the cost of our ` swatva ' our Hindutva itself!

A united Indian State and the co-operation of the Minorities

So far as स्वराज्य in this right sense is concerned, the Hindus have ever been in the forefront in the movement and struggle for Indian Independence and for founding a United Indian state. It is they who first dreamt of a united Indian State. It is the Hindus again who have by their sacrifices and struggle brought it within the scope of practical politics of today. Taking into account their present strength and weakness the Hindus have ever been willing to secure the cooperation of all non-Hindu section of their countrymen in the common struggle with a view to establish a common and united Indian State. In spite of their overwhelming majority in India, In spite of the consciousness that it is they who have borne the brunt of the fight, struggled single-handed down to this day while the other non-Hindu sections and especially the Mohammedans who are nowhere to be found while the national struggle goes on and are everywhere to be found in the forefront at the time of reaping the fruits of that struggle – in spite of all this the Hindus are willing to form a common united Indian Nation and **do not advance any special claims ,privileges or rights reserved only for themselves over and above the non-Hindu section in Hindustan.**

Let the Indian State be purely Indian. Let it not recognize any invidious distinctions whatsoever as regards the franchise, public services, offices taxation on the grounds of religion and race. Let know recognizance be taken whatsoever of man's being Hindu or Mohammedan or Christian or Jew. Let all citizens of that Indian state be treated according to their individual worth irrespective of their religious or racial percentage in the general population. Let the language and the script be the national language and script of the Indian state which are understood by the overwhelming majority of the people as happens in every other state in the world, i.e., in England or United States of America and let no religious bias be allowed to tamper with that language and script with an enforced and perverse hybridism whatsoever. Let ***` one man one vote 'be the general rule irrespective of caste or creed, race or religion.*** If such an Indian states kept in view the Hindu Sanghanists will, in the interest of the Hindu Sanghantan itself be the first to offer their wholehearted loyalty t it. I for one and thousands of the Mahasabhaits like me have set this ideal of an Indian State as our political goal ever since the beginning of our political career and shall continue to work for its consummation to the end of our life. Can any attitude towards an Indian State be more national than it?

Justice demands that I must plainly proclaim that the mission and policy of the Hindu Mahasabha with regards to an Indian State have been more national than the present-day policy of the Indian National Congress itself.

The Hindus ask nothing more than what is their due as Indian citizens on the special plea that they are Hindus or that they form the majority of the Indian population, over and above the other non-Hindu sections of their countrymen. Are the Mohammedans ready to join such a truly national Indian State without asking any special privilege, protection or weightage on the financial ground that a special merit attaches to them of being Mohammedans and not Hindus?

The anti-national designs of the Mohammedans

Fortunately for the Hindus Mr. Jinnah and the Moslem Leaguers have deliberately disclosed their real intentions this year at the Lucknow session of the Moslem League more authoritatively, more frankly and even more blatantly than they used to do before. I thank them for it. An open enemy is safer than a suspicious friend in dealing with him. Their resolutions at Lucknow are in fact no news to us. But up to this time the onus of proving the existence of the Moslem anti-national attitude and their Pan-Islamic ambitions more or less lay on the Hindus. But now we need do no more than point out to the authoritative speeches and resolutions of the League delivered and passed at that Lucknow Session to explain the anti-Hindu, anti-Indian and extra-territorial designs of the Moslems. They want the unalloyed Urdu to be raised to the position of the national tongue of the Indian State, although it is not spoken as a mother tongue by more than a couple of crores of Moslems themselves and is not understood by some twenty crores of people in India, Moslems included; in spite of the fact that it can claim no more liberty merit than Hindi which is the mother tongue of some seven crores people and is easily understood by some ten crore more! While the Arabian language itself, on which Urdu is fed is deemed outlandish by Kemal and the Turks in the land of the Khaliphas itself, the Moslems expect some twenty-five crores of Hindus to learn it and to adopt it as their national tongue! As to the National script, the Moslems insist on adopting the Urdu script and would have nothing to do, at any rate so far as they are concerned, with the Nagari! Why? Kemal may have discarded the Arabian script itself as unsuited to the present days needs, the Nagari may be more scientific, more amendable to printing, more easy to learn, may already be current against or known to twenty crores of people in Hindustan, yet the Urdu script must be the state script and the Urdu the state language for the only merit that attached to them of being recognized by the Mohammedans as their cultural asset and therefore, to make room for it, the cultures of the Hindus and other non-Moslem sections in Hindustan must go to dogs ! The Moslems will not tolerate the `Vande Mataram ‘ song. The poor unity-hankers amongst the Hindus hastened to cut it short. But the Moslem would not tolerate even the piece of it cut to order. Drop the whole song and you will find that the words ` Vande Mataram’ are a standing insult to them! Get a new song composed even by an over-generous Ravindra, Moslems would have nothing to do

with it because Ravindra being a Hindu could not but commit heinous offence of using some Sanskrit words as ` Jati' instead of `Kaum', `Bharat or Hindustan ' instead of ` Pakistan '!! They cannot be satisfied unless a national song is composed by an Iqbal or Jinnah himself in unalloyed Urdu, hailing Hindustan as Pakistan – the land dedicated to Moslem domination!

When will our unity-hankers understand that the real question at the root of this Moslem displeasure is not a word here or a song there! We would have sacrificed a dozen songs or a hundred words of our own free will if thereby would really contribute to the unity and solidarity of Hindustan. But we know the question is not so simple as that. It is the strife of different cultures and races and nations and these trifles are but the passing and outward symptoms of this malady deep seated in the Moslem mind. They want to brand the forehead of Hindudom and other non-Moslem sections in Hindustan with the stamp of self-humiliation and Moslem domination and we Hindus are not going to tolerate It any longer not only in the interest of Hindudom alone but even in the interest of Indian Nation as well.

But if we do not tolerate this the Hon. Mr. Fuzlul Huq told there and then at Lucknow what would happen to us! From the high altitude of a prime Ministers gaddi he promised to ` satana ' to the Hindus in Bengal (मैं हिंदुओंको सताउंगा) if other Hindus proved recalcitrant elsewhere to the order of the Moslem League. Now the gaddi of the Prime Minister in Bengal was the outcome of the reforms which were wrested out from the English hands by the martyrdom and sacrifice of the Hindu patriots in Bengal. ***The Moslem there as everywhere did not claim a special representation or weightage in those sufferings and sacrifices.*** But as soon as the reforms came, who could occupy and deserve the gaddi of a Prime Minister but the Hon. Mr. Fuzlul Haq! And now he threatens the very Hindus in Bengal who struggled most and suffered most to whose suffering alone Mr .Huq owes his gaddi that he will `satana' (सतायगा) them, in all shades of the meaning of that word from teasing to oppressing! I should like to assure the Honourable Mr. Fuzlul Haq that the Bengal Hindus are hard nut to crack. They have at times forced some of the prancing Proconsuls of even the powerful British Empire like Lord Curzon to climb down! But if he ever does persecute our Bengal Hindus then let him not forget that we Hindus also can in Maharashtra and elsewhere deal out to his comrades the same treatment, measure and measure, full to the brim and well shaken!

I need not refer to the attitude of the Moslems as regards the communal Award and the Federation in which case also they want to humiliate the Hindus and Shylock-like insist on having their pound of flesh! I don't want to tire you out with a plethora of figures which you all know by heart. It is only enough to remind you of the audacious proposal openly debated in the League regarding the Moslem demand to cut up the body politic of our Motherland right in two parts – the Mohammedan India and the Hindu India, - aiming to form a separate Moslem country- Pakistan- comprising of the provinces of Kashmir, Punjab, Peshawar and Sind!

Hands off, sir, hands off! If you aim thus to reduce the Hindus to the position of helots in their own land, you should do well to remember that a succession of

Auranagzebs when they wielded an Imperial power here had failed to perform that feat and in their attempt to carry out that design only succeeded in digging their own graves! Surely, Jinnah and Huqs cannot accomplish what Aurangazebs failed to achieve!

Real Unity can only come when the Mohammedans need it!

Let the Hindus remember that the real cause of this mischief is nothing else but the hankering of the Hindus after the Willow-the-Wisp of a Hindu-Moslem unity. The day we gave the Mohammedans to understand that Swaraj could not be won unless and until the Mohammedans obliged the Hindus by making a common cause with them, that day we rendered an honourable unity impossible. When an overwhelming majority in a country goes on its knees before a minority so antagonistic as the Mohammedans, imploring them to lend a helping hand and assures it that otherwise the major community is doomed to dealt, it would be a wonder if that minor community does not sell their assistance at the higher bidder possible, does not hasten the doom of the major community and aim to establish their own political *suzeraignty* in the land. The only threat that the Mohammedans always hold before the Hindus is to the effect that they would not join the Hindus in the struggle for Indian freedom unless their anti-national and fanatical demands are granted on the spot. Let the Hindus silence the threat once for all telling point blank: "Friends! We wanted and do want only that kind of unity which will go to create an Indian State in which all citizens irrespective of caste and creed, race and religion are treated all alike on the principle of one man one vote. We, though we form the overwhelming majority in the land, do not want any special privileges for our Hindudom; nay more, we are even willing to guaranty special protection for the language, culture and religion of the Mohammedans as a minority if they also promise not to *infringe* on the equal liberty of other communities in India to follow their own ways within their own respective houses and not to try to dominate and humiliate the Hindus. But knowing full well the anti-Indian designs of the Pan-Islamic movement, with a link of Moslem nations from Arabia to Afghanistan bound by their recent offensive and defensive alliances and the ferocious tendencies of the frontier tribes to oppress the Hindus out of religious and racial hatred, we Hindus are not going to trust you any longer with any more blank cheques. We are out to win Swarajya in which our स्वत्व of all other constituents will be safe. We are not out to fight with England only to find a change of masters but we Hindus aim to be masters in our own house. A Swarajya that could only be had at the humiliation and cost of Hindutva itself is for us Hindus as good as suicide. If India is not freed from foreign domination the Indian Moslems cannot but be slaves themselves. If they feel it to be true, if and when they feel they cannot do without the assistance and the good will of the Hindus let them come then to ask for unity and that also not be oblige the Hindus but to oblige themselves. A Hindu Moslem unity which is affected thus is worth having. The Hindus have realized their cost that in this case seeking unity is loosing it. Henceforth the Hindu formula for Hindu-Moslem unity is only this ***-` If you come, with you: if you don't without you: and if you oppose, in spite of you-the Hindus will continue to fight for their National Freedom as best as they can'!***

Non-Moslem Minorities in India

So far as other minorities in India are concerned, there cannot be much difficulty in arriving at an Indian National consolidation. The Parsees have ever been working shoulder to shoulder with the Hindus against the English domination. They are no fanatics. From the great Dadabhai Nowroji to the renowned revolutionary lady Madam Kama the Parsees have contributed their quota of true Indian Patriots, nor have they ever displayed any but goodwill towards the Hindu Nation which to them had proved a veritable saviour of their race. Culturally too they are most closely akin to us. In a lesser degree the same thing could be said about the Indian Christians. Although they have yet done but little to contribute any helps to the National struggle yet they have not acted like a millstone round our neck. They are less fanatical and are more amenable to political reason than the Moslems. The Jews are few in number and not antagonistic to our National aspirations. All these minorities of our countrymen are sure to behave as honest and patriotic citizens in an Indian State.

Those who accuse the Hindus and the Mahasabha of being communal should ponder well on the fact that Hindus have never been found wanting in reciprocating feelings of amicability towards these non-Moslems minorities, nor ever have they grudged to let them have what is justly due to them-their countrymen.

So far as the Anglo-Indians are concerned, their present arrogance and the lion's share they got in the Franchise under the present Reforms Act would vanish in a minute as soon as England goes out. Their sound political instinct will soon bring them in a line with other Indian citizens: otherwise they could easily be brought to their senses.

But with the Mohammedans the case is quite different. I warn the Hindus that the Mohammedans are likely to prove dangerous to our Hindu Nation and the existence of a common Indian State even if and when England goes out. Let us not be stoneblind to the fact that they as a community still continue to cherish fanatical designs to establish a Moslem rule in India. Let us work for harmony, let us hope for the best, but let us be on our guard!

Two antagonistic Nations living in India side by side

As it is there are two antagonistic Nations living side by side in India several infantile politicians commit the serious mistake in supposing that India is already welded तफ्ळ a harmonious nation, or that it could be welded thus for the mere wish to do so. These our well-meaning but unthinking friends take their dreams for realities. That is why they are impatient of communal tangles and attributes them to communal organizations. But the solid fact is that the so-called communal questions are but a legacy handed down to us by centuries of a cultural, religious and National antagonism between the Hindus and the Moslems. When time is ripe you can solve them: but you cannot suppress them by merely refusing recognition of them. It is safer to diagnose and treat deep-seated disease then to ignore it. Let us bravely face unpleasant facts as they are. India cannot be assumed today to be a Unitarian and homogenous nation, but on the contrary there are two nations in the main: the Hindus and the Moslems in India. And as it has happened in many a country under similar situation in the world the utmost that we

can do under the circumstances is to form an Indian state in which none is allowed any special weightage or representation and none is paid an extra-prize to buy his loyalty to the state. Mercenaries are paid and bought of, not sons of the motherland to fight in her defence. The Hindus as a nation are willing to discharge their duty to a common Indian state of equal footing. But if our Moslem countrymen trust on a communal strife on the Hindus and cherish anti-Indian an extra territorial designs of establishing a Mohammedan rule or supremacy in India then let the Hindus look to themselves and stand on their own legs and fight single handed as best as they can for the liberation of India from any non-Hindu yoke, be it English or Moslem or otherwise.

Vote only for those who pledge to defend Hindutva and are tried Sanghatanists

With this end in view I exhort you all to assert yourselves as Hindus! Down with the apologetic attitude that makes some of us feel shy to proclaim themselves an Hindus, as if it was something unnational, some thing like a disgrace to be born of the line of Shri Ram and Shri Krishna – Shivaji and Pratap and Govindsigh! We Hindus must have a country of our own in the solar system and must continue to flourish there as Hindus – descendants of a mighty people. Then up with the ***Shuddi which*** has not a religious meaning alone but a political side as well! Up with Sanghatan for the consummation of which it is simply imperative for non-Hindus to capture what ever political power has been wrung out by our efforts in the past under the present Reforms Act. The Mohammedans only vote for those who openly and boldly pledge to guard and aggressively secure rights for the Mohammedan people. But we Hindus commit the suicidal blunder of voting for those who openly declare that they are neither Hindus nor Mohammedans and yet are never tired of recognizing Mohammedan organizations and dealing with them and of adjusting compromises in the name of the Hindus, ever against Hindu interests and to unbearable humiliation of the Hindus. You must henceforth vote for those who are not ashamed themselves of being Hindus, openly stand for the Hindus and pledge themselves not to keep burning incense, always at the cost of the Hindus before the fetish of a dishonourable unity – cult. Let the Varnashram, Swarajya Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, Shiromani Sikh Sabhas, the Arya Samajists, the political organizations like the Democratic Swarajya Party in Maharashtra that stand for an honourable unity and a truly national Indian State and the great Ashrams, Sanghas and Jateeya Sabhas, that take their stand on Hindutva from a united Hindu party in the legislatures and let no Hindu vote for a man who is not a Sanghatanists and you will find them that your own ministries will be championing the just cause of our Hindu Nation as boldly as the Mohammedan ministries are doing theirs. This alone will save not only the Hindu Nation of ours, but even the Indian state to come. For truly Hindus are and cannot but be the mainstay of our Indian State! We shall ever guarantee protection to the religion, culture and language of the minorities for themselves, but we shall no longer tolerate any aggression on their part on the equal liberty of the Hindus to guard their religion, culture and language as well. If the non-Hindu minorities are to be protected then surely the Hindu majority also must be protected against any aggressive minority in India!

Now in the end I assure you, Oh Hindus, that if but you do not lose self – confidence in yourselves and are up and doing in time, all that is lost may yet be

regained. There is some such virility and staying power inherent in your race as find a few parallels in the annals of the world. Let alone the Daityas and Asuras you vanquished in your mythological and a pre-historical period of your annals- but your very history dates from some two thousand years B.C.! Amidst the terrible struggle for existence which is incessantly going on in creation, survival of the fittest is the rule. The nations of the mighty Inkas and Pharaohs and Nebuchadnezars were swept away and no trace left behind. But you survived those National cataclysms because you were found the fittest to survive. There are ups and downs in the life of every nation. This very England which rules today over an Empire had often fallen an easy prey to the Romans and the Danes, the Dutch and the Normans as well. We too had to face great national disasters. But each time we rose and tided them over. The Greeks under Alexander the Great came conquering the world but they could not conquer Hindustan. Chandra Gupta rose and we drove the Greeks back inflicting crushing defeats on them military and cultural. Three centuries after the Huns came on us like an avalanche. All Europe and half Asia lay at their feet, they smashed the Roman Empire to pieces. But after some two centuries of a life-and-death struggle against them we vanquished them in the end under our Vikramaditya the Great! The Shakas also fared no better. The mighty hands of Shalivahan and Yashodharman beat them to a chip. Where are those of our enemies-the Huns and the Parthians and the Shakas today? The very names are forgotten! Gone, effaced from the face of India and the world as well. The virility and the staying out power of our race triumphed ever them all.

Then centuries after, the Mohammedans invaded India and carried everything before them. Their kingdoms and Empires seemed to reign supreme. But we rallied again and ever since the day that Shivaji was born the God of war sided with us. Battle after battle we beat the Moslems in a hundred fields; their kingdoms and Empires, their Nababs and Shahas and Badashahas were bought to their knees by our warriors till at last Bhausaheb the Commander-in-chief of the Hindus, as if symbolically raised this hammer and literally smashed the very Imperial throne of the Moghals at Delhi to pieces. Mahadaji Shinde held the imbecile Moghal Emperors as prisoners and pensioners in his custody and Hindu supremacy was once more re-established all over the land.

In the meanwhile before we could recover from the struggle of centuries with Moslems, the English faced us and won on all points. We do not grudge their victory. Because though we have been vanquished in the field yesterday, yet enough fight is still left in us today, we have not given up the struggle for lost nay, have already returned to the charge.

Who knows that some future and more fortunate President of this our Hindu Mahasabha may not be able to rise here, if not in this generation yet in the generation of our sons and proclaim the triumphant news to that session to come that as happened in the case of the Huns and the Greeks and the Shakas in the past there is not a trace left behind to the British domination in our land! The banner of Hindudom flies supreme on the summit of the Himalayas, Hindustan is free again and Hindudom triumphant !!

20th Session Nagpur – 1938

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I gratefully acknowledge the confidence you have placed in me in calling upon me to preside over this Twentieth Session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. I promise you in all sincerity that I will try my best to deserve the trust you have thus placed in me, by exerting in full the limited strength which as individual like me can process. But you will excuse me if I call upon you in all humility to bear in mind that the only way of justifying yourselves in placing that trust in me can be no other than exerting yourselves in full in striving and fighting heroically to defend and consolidate Hindudom in such wise as to compel Near future to herald the resurrection of a Hindu Nation rising out and of the tomb of the Present and grown even greater and mightier more resplendent than it ever had been in the past in the days of a Chandra Gupta or a Vikramaditya or the Peshwas at Poona. It is nothing short of a political miracle that we Hindus of this generation are called upon to work out, and no individual howsoever great, can accomplish the task unless and until the whole Hindudom rises like one man to dare and to do and to march on unvanquished through the unavoidable valleys of bitter disappointment and valorous death – through which alone lies the path to the ultimate triumph of such great causes of Nations' resurrections. If we quail we are all lost beyond redemption; if we but dare we are sure to win; for, even today we possess the power the volcanic fire within us. We only know it not. Rouse it confidently – and it shall burst forth like into the column of the sacrificial Fire which led the Aryan Patriarchs of our Hindu race from victory to victory.

2. When I said that it is out of the tomb of the present that we have to resurrect Hindudom I said it deliberately; so that I may not be guilty of belittling the overwhelming difficulties we have to face today. The present is indeed a veritable sepulcher into which they have buried our Hindu Nation after crucifying it on the charge of committing the crime of claiming to be a nation by itself. It is needless for me to depict you, brothers and sisters, who have attended this session, to depict the ghastly picture in details of the dreadful calamities which the Hindus from Peshwar to Rameshwar have to face from day to day. The Session of the Hindu Mahasabha is about the last place today where mere sightseers or job-hunters can find anything attractive enough to attend it here. All avenues to power, pelf, popularity lead but elsewhere. To be a Hindu Sanghatanist today is not a paying concern. To a willing delegate to the Hindu Mahasabha Session today is to incur the wrath of power that be, to invite the dagger of a non-Hindu assassin – some `brother' Abdul Rushid to be slaughtered by some `brave mopla patriots' and what is more poignant and unbearable than even the dagger of a non-Hindu assassin, - to be hunted and ostracized by millions of one's own Hindu kith and kin for no other fault but of daring to love and defend the Hindu cause and the Hindu people as devotedly and as humanly as the English do the English race, as the Germans do the German cause, or the Japanese love the Japanese self, the Moslems do the Moslem religion and community. To raise aloft the Hindu banner has become today an act of high treason in Hindustan – in the land of Hindus themselves, to assert one's self as a Hindu is being dubbed as mean by millions of Hindus themselves. The very fact that under such conditions you all have gathered

together here as delegates to this session of Hindu Mahasabha and dared to rally round this pan-Hindu banner proves it to the hilt that you could not have done so unless impelled by an overwhelming sense of duty, fully conscious of the touched to the quick by the unbearable humiliations to which our Hindu race is subject to form day to day and fully prepared to defy the intolerable demands of the so-called Indian patriotism seeking to smother unto death our very existence as Hindu, as a nation unto ourselves.

3. I shall not, therefore, go into any current and detailed grievances or local questions affecting Hindu interests today but leave them to be dealt with severally in the resolutions and speeches on them to be passed and delivered in this Session later on. I shall restrict myself to the two outstanding questions: ` what is the root cause that has landed the Hindus in this present predicament striking the life growth of our Hindu Nation with a sudden atrophy, and the immediate remedy that is sure to rescue the Hindu cause even yet from being lost beyond recovery!

4.Nevertheless inasmuch as this address is meant for those millions of Hindus also who still remain outside the pale of the Hindu Mahasabha and who in spite of their devoted allegiance to Hindutva in general are but imperfectly aware of the dangers that beset it today on all sides and wonder, therefore, why the Hindusabhaist should make so much ado about nothing or little things here and there. I feel it incumbent upon me just to denote a few points in passing to acquaint them with the real gravity of the situation at least sufficiently enough to set them thinking and in a mood to realize the import of what I have to say later on during the course of the address. Let us just take the constitution in force today. The British have deliberately deprived the Hindus of the political predominance which was their due as the overwhelming majority in India by denying them representation in proportion to their population on the one hand and on the other loaded the Moslems, Christians, Europeans with weightages, preferences, securities and what not, so as to invest them with political power immeasurably more than what was their due. They broke up the Hindu electorate into water tight compartments with a view to prevent the growth of their political solidarity amongst themselves, why, the very recognition of the Hindus as an electoral unit by themselves is altogether and deliberately denied in the electoral scheme of our country. Spacious apartments, well furnished and honourably named, are reserved for the minorities. The majority, the Hindu, the host is crowed into the lumber-room, the general electorate, unnamed and unrecognized. With a set purpose to starve out material qualities in the Hindus the British government have been curtailing their recruitment in the army and in the police with the effect that the Moslem minority preponderates in those two vital forces of the Nation. In the Punjab and some other provinces measures like Land Alienation Act seek to crush the Hindus economically while in Bengal as unabashed Act is passed to reserve some sixty per cent of posts for the Moslems in Government services. In the Moslem States of Hyderabad, Bhopal and others the religious and racial persecution of the Hindus is carried on so relentlessly as to remind one of the days of Aurangzeb and Allaudin. In cities and villages all over India their civil and religious rights are daily trampled under foot of allay the fury of Moslem mobs. The bloody orgies to which the Hindus were subjected by Moslem fanatics in Malabar and Kohat are enacted on this scale or that even in the presidency towns all over India every now and then. The Frontier Moslem tribes carry out raids and

perpetrate unnamable atrocities on the Hindu people there with a set purpose of exterminating the Kafir in that region. Only the Hindu Merchants are looted, only the Hindus are massacred and only the Hindu women and children are kidnapped and held to ransom or converted perforce to Islam. On the top of it all comes in the Psuedo-Nationalism of the congressites who practically condone and explain away these Moslem atrocities by inventing such lying excuses: ` There are nothing anti-Hindu in these Moslem raids! It is only economical and sexual starvation of the tribes that goads them on to these crimes. Let us feed those starved souls and they will be good citizens!‘ But it is curious that these starved poor raiders leave the rich Moslems in the Frontier towns unlooted, find no young Moslem damsels to kidnap, burn no Moslem houses and go about assuring the Moslems by beat of drums that they shall not hurt a hair of any Moslem provided he shelter not a Hindu Kafir! Witness only the latest case in the Dadu district in Sind. The Moslem raiders attached absolutely unoffending archaeological party under Mr. Muzumdar. They asked each one: `Are you Hindu?' If he said Aye, he was forthwith shot dead. One Hindu pretended to be a Moslem and he was let go alive and unmolested. This case is only a typical one illustrating thousands of such dreadful happenings all over India and is the order of the day during all Moslem riots and the raids from Malbar to Peshawar, from Sind to Assam and year in the year out. Add to this the activities of the all-India organizations of the Christians missionaries and the Moslem organizations from the Agakhanis, Hasan Nizamis, Peera Motamiyas to the very village Moslem goondas, all seeking and succeeding in converting millions of Hindus to foreign faiths by peaceful or fraudulent or forceful means throughout the length and breadth of India undermining the religious, racial, cultural and political activities of the Moslem leaguers and the Moslem States that have already culminated into open resolutions first to divide India into a Moslem Federation and a Hindu Federation and then to strike down the latter by inviting invasions from outside India by some alien Moslem powers. Such is the present state of the Hindus in the Hindusthan, their own land! And yet the worst factor remains to be told. For, even to refer to these calamities to which the Hindus have fallen a pray is damned as a national sin by that new cult which calls itself `Indian Nationalists' and leads at present the Indian National Congress. Offering a blank cheque to Moslems by one hand they deliver ultimatum to the Hindus by the other. `Get looted but don't report, get stabbed but don't shriek, get repressed as Hindus but don't organize to resist it as Hindus; or else you will be damned as traitors to the cause of our Indian Nationalism !!!'

5. In the face of these facts who else but a fool or a foe can accuse the Hindu Mahasabha of making much ado about nothing or fancying grievances where none exists or dealing only with some superstitious and empty contents of religious or racial slogans?

Again, in the face of these facts what wonder is there that leaving aside those who continue to be counted amongst Hindus but whose hearts ceased to respond to their Hinduness or who openly disown any allegiance to Hindudom , we find crores of Hindus all over India every fibre of whose life vibrates with the racial, religious or cultural consciousness of being Hindus, sorely afflicted to see our Hindu race beset by all these calamities and subjected to such unbearable humiliations. On all sides today the anxious question is asked by crores of Hindus: `How are we to remedy this evil? How is that we

fell? How are we Hindus to rise again as Hindus and recover our position as a Nation great amongst the nations in the world?' This recent searching of heart is one of the most encouraging signs to show that the soul of our Hindu race is roused again from the deadly swoon of self-forgetfulness. It is natural that on its return to self-consciousness it should raise these bewildering questions as to its whereabouts.

Although it is not possible to deal exhaustively with these anxious questions that are daily pouring on us from all sides within the limited compass of an address like this, yet I feel that if but I can succeed in pointing out the root cause which has landed us on this sad plight and the immediate step which we must and fortunately we also can take a view to come out of it, my address will serve its purpose fairly well.

6. In order to find out the root cause, the first initial error which is leading us into a series of all derivative errors rendered us Hindus insensible to the very fact that we had a National being at all, we must have a hurried peep into our racial history.

A peep into our History

It is at least 5000 years ago, to the Vaidic age that the beginning of our Hindu Nation could be historically and undeniably traced. Our National ancestors lived and flourished then on the banks of the seven Sindhus and were laying foundations of a Nation that was destined to grow later on into a mighty Hindu Nation. Racially and culturally they were called Aryans; territorially they bore the name of the Sapta Sindhus or Sindhus. One of our provinces and its people on the banks of the Sindhu River bear the very same name down to this day and are called Sindh and Sindhus respectively. They crossed the Ganges, the Vindhyas the Godavari in their vigorous and valorous course of colonization and conquest till they reached the Southern and the Eastern and Western limits of India. By an admirable process of assimilation, elimination and consolidation, political, racial and cultural, they welded all other non-Aryan peoples whom they came in contact with or conflict with through this process of their expansion in this land from the Indus to the Eastern sea and from the Himalayas to the Southern sea into a national unit. Politics and Religion vied with each other with a conscious policy of ultimately uniting them all into a national being bound together by the ties of a common religion, common language, common culture, a common Fatherland and a common Holyland. Witness for example the four Dhamas- the religious holy outposts roughly marking the four limits of our Holyland- Badrikedar, Dwarka, Rameshwar and Jagannath, identifying them as demarcatingly as it was then possible with the limits of our Fatherland as well. Leaving mythological period alone even in the period of our definite history the mighty centralized empires of Chandra Gupta Maurya, Chandra Gupta the Second, Vikramaditya Yashovardhan, Pulkeshi, Shri Harsha and such other great Samrats and Chakravartis added to this consolidation of our people and made them vibrate with the stirrings of a common political and national being. Powerful invasions of the Greeks, Shakas, Huns and such other foreign races which threatened our people with a common danger and the mighty conflicts they had to wage to overcome that danger by presenting a common front to it lasting sometimes for centuries vested all the more their consciousness of culture, political, racial and religious oneness marking them out as a national unit by themselves,

In spite of their internal differences, in relation to other non-Indian National units. The long period of peace unmolested by external political danger worth the name that intervened between the ultimate triumph of the Hindus over the Huns and the invasion of India by the Moslems was preeminently devoted to the further consolidation of our people and their religious, cultural, racial and political oneness grew so pronounced, definite and conscious that by the time the Moslems came in they found India full grown into a homogeneous Hindu people.

Under the pressure of the Moslem invasions and their consolidation into a powerful Moslem Empire at Delhi political unity of the Hindus from Kashmir to Rameshwar and Sindh to Bengal intensified still more and the name Hindu derived from the Vaidic Sapta Sindhus had already become the honoured and beloved common appellation of our race centuries before the days of Prithviraj. Thousands of our martyrs embraced death as `Hindus' to vindicate the honour of Hindu religion. Thousands upon thousands, princes and peasants alike, revolted and rose as Hindus under Hindu flags and fought and fell in fighting against their non-Hindu foes. Till at last Shivaji was born, the hour of Hindu triumph was struck, the day of Moslem supremacy set. Under one common name `the Hindus', under one common banner, the Hindu banner, under one common Hindu leadership, with one common ideal of the establishment of `Hindu-Pad-Padashahi' (The Hindu Empire), with one common aim, the political liberation of `Hindustan', the emancipation of their common Mother-land and Holyland, the Hindus rose from province to province till at last the Maratha confederacy succeeded in beating to a chip the Moslem Nababs and Nizams, Badashahs and Padashas in a hundred battle fields. The Marathas advanced victorious East, West, North and South, dropping their secondary capitals at Tanjore, at Gunti, at Kolhapur, at Baroda, at Dhar, at Gwalior, at Indore, at Jhansi, till they reached the Attuk. They ruled at Delhi and held the Moslem Moghul Emperors as prisoners, pensioners, and paupers in their camp. The Sikh Hindus ruled in Punjab, the Gurkha Hindus in Nepal, the Rajput Hindus in Rajputana, The Maratha Hindus from Delhi to Tanjore, Dwarka to Jagnnath. Thus at last the Vaidic Sindhus had grown into a mighty Hindu people, a Hindu Nation, a Hindu-Pad-Padashahi which is a word used by Bajirao 1 himself. If you wish to realize fully how the mighty movement was surcharged with the intense consciousness of Hindutva, how our martyrs, heroes, victors from Prithviraj, Pratap, Shivaji, Guru Govind, Banda, down to the days of Nana Fadanvis and Mahadaji Shinde owned and gloried in their National and religious oneness as Hindus, and were proud of their national appellation as Hindus!!, you may do well to read, for want of a better book, my historical work named "Hindu-Pad-Padashahi." Here owing to limited space I quote only a stanza from out of a letter, by way of illustration written so late as in 1793 to Nana Fadanavis by Govindrao Kale, the Maratha ambassador to the Nizam, so that you may listen to their thoughts in their own words: - अटक नदीचे अलिकडे दक्षिण समुद्रापावेतो हिंदुंचे स्थान,तुर्कस्थान नव्हे! हे आपली सीमा पांडवांपासून विक्रमादित्यापावेतो त्यांनी राखून उपभोग घेतला. पेशव्यांचे पुण्यप्रतापे नि महादजी शिंद्यांचे बुद्धी नि तलवारीचे पराक्रमे सर्व घरास आले. ज्यांनी ज्यांनी हिंदुस्थानात शिरे उचलली त्यांची शिंद्यांनी फ़ोडली. यात सार्वभौमत्व हाती लागणे, यश,कीर्ती यांचे नगारे वाजणे इतक्या गोष्टी आहेत. ` From the river Attuk to the Indian Ocean extends the land of Hindus, Hindustan, not Turkstan. These have been our frontiers from the times of Pandavas to Vikramaditya. They preserved them and enjoyed

Empires. After them came effete rulers and the Moslems conquered our Kingdom but now everything has been restored to us and re won under the Peshwas and by the valorous sword of Mahadaji Shinde! The Hindu Empire is established, the fame of our victory goes resounding all round!'

The Hindu Nation is an organic growth and no Paper-make Makeshift

7. It will be clear from this hurried peep into our history that ever since the Vaidic ages, for some, 5000 years at least, in the past our forefathers had been shaping the formation of our people into a religious, racial, cultural and political unit. As a consequences of it all, growing organically the Sindhus of the Vaidic time have grown today into Hindu Nation, extending over India and holding India in common as their Fatherland and their Holyland. No other Nation in the world, excepting perhaps the Chinese, can claim a continuity of life and growth so unbroken as our Hindu Nation does. The Hindu Nation is not a mushroom growth. It is not a treaty Nation. It is not paper made toy. It was not cut to order. It is not an outlandish makeshift. It has grown out of this soil and has its roots struck deep and wide in it. It is not a fiction invented to spite the Moslem or anybody in the world. But it is a fact as stupendous and solid as the Himalayas that border our North.

It matters not that it had and it has sects and sections, dissimilarities and differences within its fold – what Nation is free from them? A Nation is not marked out as a separate unit because its people have no subdivisions and diversities amongst themselves but because they as a whole present a more homogenous unity amongst themselves than they have in common with all other alien national units; because they differ definitely and immensely more from all other people in the world than they differ amongst themselves from each other. This is the only test that marks out nation in the world. The Hindus having a common Fatherland and a common Holyland and both identify with each other have made their nationality doubly sure and stand this test doubly well. As the running outline of our history sketched above unmistakably reveals, for thousands of years our Hindu people had been definitely conscious of their religious and cultural, political and patriotic homogeneity as a people by themselves, as a nation unto themselves. What is to be specially noted here for the argument in hand is the fact that down to the fall of the Maratha Empire our people, princes, patriots, poets, preachers and statesmen, all and altogether strove consciously and continuously to develop and intensify the conception of Hindu Nationality and exerted their might to its bear best to establish a `Hindu-Pad-Padashahi,' a Hindu Empire in India, which they called Hindustan, the land of Hindus.

I shall leave the thread of this argument here to be resumed later on when I shall have to point out its special significance in relation to the problems we have to face today.

The Rise of the Concept of an Indian Nation

8. We have traced the organic growth and development of our Hindu Nation to

the fall of the Maratha Empire in 1818 and the consequent advent of the British rule in India. The fall of our Sikh Hindu kingdom also in Punjab enabled the British to establish an unchallenged supremacy throughout our country. The British had found that all the bloody wars they had to fight in the course of their Indian conquest were with the Hindu powers. The Moslems as a political factor was nowhere to be faced. The Moslem as a political power was already smashed by the Marathas. The only fight the British had to face single-handed with the Moslems was at Plassey. But it was such an easy affair that they say the British commander won it while he was asleep! Consequently, the first anxiety of the British was to see that the Hindu nation must be undermined, their solidarity, as a religious and political unit must be broken. The Moslems came in the picture as mere handy tool in the hands of the British to compass their design. The British even tried the obvious means of converting the Hindus to Christianity by lending political support of the State to Christian Missions in India. But the revolutionary rising of 1857 led mostly by Hindu leaders opened the eyes of the British to the dangers involved in any open attack against the religion of Hindus and Moslems alike and the British State ceased to lend any open support to the Christian Church. Then they initiated a policy to undermine the very concept of a Hindu nation amongst the rising generation of the Hindu youths by introducing a de-nationalising scheme of western education in India. We have the word of Macaulay himself for that. He points out in one of his private letters to his son-in-law that if his scheme of Western education is put into force, Hindu youths would of themselves love to get converted to Christianity, to get westernized and consequently affiliated and attached to the British people. Unfortunately for the Hindus his expectations did not altogether miscarry and the first generations of the Hindu youths who took to Western education with avidity were on the whole cut off from their old mooring of Hinduness, of Hindutva. They knew next to nothing of Hindu History, Hindu religion, Hindu culture and all they knew of Hindutva were only its weak points which were deliberately represented to them as its essence in such wise as to make them ashamed of being Hindus at all. The Moslems on the contrary kept at a hand's distance from this education and consequently it could not undermine their communal solidarity at all.

But the introduction of the Western education in India did not prove an unmixed evil. Contrary to the expectations of its initiators it soon brought in new forces into action which were destined to defeat the purpose it was meant to serve and add to the strength of the Hindus in the long run. But here we are dealing with its immediate effects only.

And the immediate effect of the Western education was that the two first generations of Hindus who were influenced by it were totally carried off their feet, they fell in love with everything Western. They looked upon the British rule as a Godsend. They prayed for its permanence. Fed on Western literature and history and cut off from any contact with Hindu thoughts and Hindu policy, they naturally came to the easy conclusion that if but they imitated the West and especially the England in every detail of individual and collective life they and their country would be benefited and saved.

Not that they were not public-spirited or intellectual men. On the contrary these first batches of English educated Hindus were allowed to rise very high in the social and official scale by England and were deliberately taken to be the spokesmen of Indian people - of the `Natives'. They got every facility to wield tremendous influence over their

own people so that they might impart their admiration about the British people and their loyalty to the British rule to their `Native Community'. They, too, with best of intentions wanted to do good to their people and their nation. But their idea of doing good and even of what was their nation were entirely outlandish-British-having no relation with the realities obtaining in India.

That was the reason why they naturally thought that their nation meant their country. Like all other ideas and sentiments, their notion of patriotism also was borrowed ready-made from England. They found that the English meant by patriotism love to their country,- the geographical unit England., which they inhabited. All those who lived in England were united into a nation irrespective of religion, race, culture and that was the reason why England had become so consolidated and powerful a nation. The analogy was as simple as attractive. If they too could unite India irrespective of race, religion, culture, caste, creed, their people too might grow into a consolidated and powerful Indian Nation. They found that in Europe of their days a national unit meant a territorial unit. All those who inhabited the territorial unit France were French, Germany were Germans, Spain were Spanish, England were English and each respectively a Unitary nation by itself. So they thought or rather believed, without thinking at all, that the only bond of a territorial unity, the only fact of residing in a common geographical unit was by itself the most efficient, nay, the only efficient factor to mark out a people into a nation by themselves.

'Well then, all people in India : Hindus, Moslems, Christians, Parsees and others, had been inhabiting the territorial unit called India for centuries together. Therefore, all these people must be a nation by themselves. What if they differed so much in religion, language, culture, race and historical development? Those things had nothing to do with a common nationality. Territorial unity, a common country, was the only foundation required to support and induce a common nationality. Territorial unit must be a national unit. Look at England, France, America.' Thus they argued.

The corollary derived from this assumption was also inevitable. If India, because it was a territorial unit and called a country must be a national unit as well, then all of us must also be Indians only and cease to be Hindus and Moslems, Christians or Parsees. So they, the leaders of those first generations of English educated people, being almost all Hindus, tried their best to cease themselves to be Hindus and thought it below their dignity to take any cognizance of the divisions as Hindus and Moslems and became transformed overnight into Indian patriots alone.

It was also very easy for them to cease to be Hindus. The Western education had taught them and they had no other education, that Hindutva meant nothing else but Hinduism which to them meant a veritable bundle of superstitions. They had no occasion to stop and think of the other and most fundamental concepts of Hindutva, of Hinduness, in all its racial, cultural and historical bearing.

As they found it so easy for them to renounce thir Hinduness and merge themselves at a thought into being Indian and Indians alone they expected that it would be as easy for the Moslems too forget that they were Moslems and to merge themselves

entirely and totally into the Indian people, the Indian Nation, which to those 'Indian' Patriots seemed already a fact as tangible as the territorial unit India.

It must be emphasized here that all these our remarks are true in their collective sense only. It is not possible to deal with details and exceptions either individual or actional in such a short address as this.

As the Western education went on spreading rapidly amongst Hindus the idea of an Indian Nationality also continued to find a larger and larger following; inversely, the solidarity of the Hindus as Hindus, as a political unit, as a nation by themselves, grew feebler and feebler and at last grew unconscious of itself through sheer starvation.

The British rejoiced at the turn events had taken. They knew that under those circumstances the only danger to their political consciousness of the Hindu Nation and the re-emergence of the ideal of a Hindu Sovereignty. It is a fact that even after 1857 a Hindu politically proud of his being a Hindu was a suspect. For he brooded over the loss of his Hindu Kingdom and was watched as an incipient revolutionist. The armed rising of Ramsing Kooka in the Punjab and Vasudeo Balwant Phadke in Maharashtra even after the defeat of the revolutionary war in 1857, with a view to drive the British out and recover the lost Hindu Kingdom, only confirmed the British in their suspicions.

The British of Indian National Congress

9. It was just after the suppression of the rising of Vasudeo Balwant Phadke of Poona who aspired to revive an independent Hindu Kingdom even as Shivaji did, that the birth of the Indian National Congress took place. It is to be noted that the British Government favoured the movement and it was Viceroy who sponsored it! Many a prominent British civilian like Mr. Hume, Wedderburn and others led it for a long time. Great Hindu leaders form the most public-spirited motives nursed it and it became the organized and authoritative spokesman of the new cult of Indian Patriotism.

The British, too, while they favoured this Indian movement as an antidote to any possible revival of Hindu Nationalism, took good care to see that the Moslem solidarity as Moslems did not suffer in any way by catching the contagion of this new Indian Nationalist cult. For the British knew that if the Moslems also joined that cult as wholeheartedly as the Hindus die, then there would really be a untied Indian Nation-a contingency likely to prove perhaps more dangerous to British supremacy in India than a Hindu revival could single-handedly prove to be. The British dreaded and hated any real genuine and fruitful rise of Indian Nationalism as much-if not more-as they did any revival of Hindu Nationalism. So they on the one hand encouraged and helped surreptitiously the fanatical hatred, enmity and distrust, which the Moslems even bore to the Hindu Nation, thus rendering any efficient Indian national unity as delusive as a mirage and on the other hand encouraged the Hindus, at least in the beginning to pursue that mirage of an Indian Nationalism with avidity so that the rise of a Homogeneous Hindu Nation might be ruled out of practical politics. Of course it is another matter that the result of this British policy of encouraging Indian Nationalism in the beginning did

not altogether fulfil their expectations and they had to change it later on. But that does not belie the fact I have referred to above.

The Ideal of Indian Nationalism was in fact a Noble one

10. The Hindus found nothing objectionable in the ideal of uniting all India into a consolidated political unit and very naturally so. Fro it suited well with the Hindu mentality with its synthetic trend, always prone to philosophies with a universal urge. It is also true that the ideal of politics itself ought to be a Human State, all mankind for its citizens, the earth for its motherland. If all India with one-fifth of the human race could be united irrespective of religious, racial and cultural diversities, merging them all into a homogeneous whole, it would be but a gigantic stride taken by mankind towards the realization of that human political Ideal. So far as the ideal language and picture of this conception went it could not but be attractive to a people like the Hindus with a religious and cultural ideology preaching *"Sarva Khalvidam Braham"* all this is but one and indivisible Brahma. But Brahma, even in its political aspect, like its philosophical one, has for its counterpart a *"Maya"* the principle of division! And this fact those Hindu Patriots overlooked in their enthusiasm for the ideal-if India was united! Yes, but the 'if' was what mattered most. The new concept of an Indian Nationality was founded on the only common bond of a territorial unity of India; the Hindus for one found nothing revolting even in that assumption to their deepest religious or cultural or racial sentiments. Because their national being had already been identified with that territorial unit, India, which to them was not only a land of sojourn but a home, their Fatherland, their Motherland, their Holyland and all in one! Indian Patriotism to them was but a synonym of Hindu Patriotism. Even the territorial appellation of the Hindu Nation. If Hindusthan was called India but continued to be a Hindusthan, it made no difference in essentials and for practical purposes might be overlooked.

11. That is the reason why, later on, even those Hindu leaders who in spite of their being highly educated in the western lore were also deeply imbued with Hinduness, were proud of being Hindus bay religion, by race, by culture and joined the Indian National movement for political purposes and worked wholeheartedly with the Congress and even led it so long as it continued to be a purely political body, striving assiduously to wrest political power out of the hands of the British Government with a view to establish a real Indian commonwealth, to be held in common with other non-Hindu minorities in India on equitable footing and in honourable company.

12. But although the Hindus on the whole rallied round the Indian National Congress with unsuspecting enthusiasm and lent their honest devotion to the principle of a Territorial nationality that underlay it, that principle seemed to fail miserably in appealing to the Moslems in India. As a community they held back from the very beginning and by and by began to resent it altogether. The more insistent the Congress demand grew in calling upon all Indians to merge their racial and religious individuality into an Indian Nation at any rater for forming themselves into a political unit, the more distrustful an enraged the Moslems grew. Fro they instinctively felt that Indian patriotism as defined by

the Congress was sure to deal a death blow to Moslem patriotism which was to be all and end all their racial, religious and cultural ambitions. The British Government for their own end encouraged them in this their anti-Congress attitude. The higher the Congress rose in political importance through the strenuous efforts of our Hindu Patriots and the more insisting grew its demands and stronger its power to back them up, the more outspoken and determined became the Moslem opposition to it, and the more assiduous grew the encouragement and surreptitious assistance to it on the part of the British Government who came to realize to their discomfiture that their policy of bringing into being the Indian National Congress movement had in the long end miscarried their expectations in a large measure.

13. I am the last man to ignore the benefits that even we Hindus reaped from the Indian National Congress movement even from the Hindu point of view. It had though only consequentially and without that special end in view, contributed immensely to the consolidation of Hindudom as a whole by rubbing off their provincial, linguistic and sectional angularities, divisions and diversities, provided them with a common political platform and animated them with the consciousness of a common National being with a definite common goal of a united and central state. Errors that crept in may be rectified but the good that came out need not be disowned. Nor do I decry the introduction of Western education in India. In spite of the questionable intentions of the British in its inception we Hindus have succeeded in turning the tables in the long run and now in the position to give a good and profitable account of our contact with the West.

14. But the point to be specially emphasized here is the fact that just as the benefit we Hindus reaped out or our contact with the West or the receiving English education through the Government universities, was in spite of the evil intentions of the British Government, even so the good that accrued to us Hindus contributing to the further consolidation of our Hindu Nation was not in virtue of the new cult of Indian Nationality or the proclaimed intentions of the Indian National Congress but in spite of its efforts direct or implied to suppress our racial and religious consciousness as Hindus. The territorial patriots wanted us to cease to be Hindus at least as a national and political unit. Some of them actually gloried in disowning themselves as Hindus at all! They were merely Indians, thinking that they had set a very patriotic example in that which they fancied would persuade the Moslems too to renounce their communal being and also merge themselves in that territorial Indian Nation beyond recognition!

15. But the Moslems remained Moslems first Moslems last and Indians never! They sat on the fence as long as the deluded Hindus kept struggling with the British to wrest political rights for all Indians alike, going to the prisons In lakes, to the Andamans in thousands, to the gallows in hundreds And as soon as the unarmed agitation carried on by the Congressite Hindus on the one hand and the more dreadful and more effective life and death struggle carried on by the armed Hindu revolutionists out- side the Congress on the other, brought sufficient pressure on the British Government and compelled them to hand over some substantial political power to the Indians, the Moslems jumped down the fence and claimed ` they also were Indians, they must have their pound of flesh ! ! Till at last things came to such a pass that the proposal to divide India itself into two parts-the

Moslem India and the Hindu India was blatantly put forward and their readiness to ally themselves with non-lndian Moslem nation against the Hindus was avowed by no less a representative Moslem body than the Moslem League. This was the sorry fate which the hopes of these Hindu patriots who from the best of motives but with a thoughtless belief and the blindest of policies persisted in their efforts of consolidating all Indians into one undivided and endive- -sible Indian Nation. Irrespective of religions, races and cultures based only on the common bond of a territorial unity!

Territorial Unity is not the only Constituent of a Common Nationality

16. What was then the root cause which brought about this miserable failure of the efforts of the Congress during the last full fifty years to placate the Moslems to allow themselves to be merged into a united Indian Nation? To persuade them to be, at any rate, Indians first and Moslems afterwards? Not that the Moslems do not like to form a united Indian Nation; but their conception of unity, national unity of India is not based on her territorial unity at all. If any Moslem had given out his mind in the most Intelligible terms possible, it was All Musaliar, the leader of the Mopla rebellion. In justification of his atrocious campaign of forcibly converting thousands of Hindus or putting them to sword-women, men, children-at a stroke, he proclaimed that India must be united into a Nation and the only way to bring about lasting Hindu Moslem unity could not be other than that all I Hindus should become Moslems! Those Hindus who refused to do so were traitors to the cause of Indian unity and deserved death! ! Thus the unsophisticated Ali Musaliar spoke bluntly In his mother-tongue Polished Moslems like Mohamed Ali and others speak in elegant Latin and Greek, but the purport is the same Not territorial unity but it is the religious, racial and cultural unity that counts most in the formation of a National unit. Congress failed to realise this and this was the root cause of its failure in this matter.

Congress committed the serious mistake at its very start of overlooking this fundamental, social and political principle that in the formation of Nations, religious, racial, cultural and historical affinities count immensely more than their territorial unity, the fact of having a common habitat. That also is one of the factors but in almost all cases cannot be the only factor. The example of England and some other European national units which put the Hindu founders of the Indian National Congress on the wrong track as we have explained above in section eight of this address, was not rightly understood. England has not grown into such a homogeneous national unit only because it is a clear-cut territorial unit. Their territorial Patriotism is not the cause but a consequence of their other social and political affinities. England, for example, was as a clear-cut territorial unit in days gone by. But when their, religious susceptibilities were highly irritable, the English Catholics and Protestants felt themselves drawn more to their respective co-religionists outside England than their own countrymen inside it. The English Catholics cared more for the Pope in Rome then their Protestant English Sovereigns in. England. The English Protestants invited William from Holland to rule over them Instead of an English king of Roman Catholic persuasion. Take again the case of Holland. The Hollanders, in spite of their territorial unity, during the Religious phase of their history could not be united into a homogeneous nation. The Catholic Hollanders joined Spain

against their own Protestant Prince William of Orange. Take the case of Austria-Hungary. There was nothing notable to divide them territorially they were welded together into an imperial unit and continued to be a political unit under a common state for centuries. But here there were no racial, cultural, linguistic or historical affinities to draw them towards each other as to be a nation in heart. So they separated as national and political units as soon as a favourable opportunity arose

Nor could it be said ' Oh! This your racial and religious bosh is already a thing of the past The world is grown wiser since No upto date man cares a fig for them today' To this commonplace exclamation we rejoin Are the Hindu Moslem Indians more up-to-date than the Germans or the Irish of today? Are not the latter amongst the most advanced, educated and up- to-date nations of the world? But do you find that territorial unity counts with the Germans or the Irish more even today than the affinities of a common race, language, culture or history?

The latest cases of the Sudetan Germans And Ulsterites

The Sudetan Germans and say the Prussian Germans knew no common political nationality for a long period. They were not a common people as a State. When the enemies of Germany hit her hard they cut her into pieces and created a patchwork of a ' nation ' and compassed it into a territorial unit called Czechoslovakia making a mess of the Sudetan Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks) etc. Did they form a Nation? Sudetan Germans longed to be one with the Prussian Germans in spite of their being mapped out of it as a territorial unit and revolted against the Czechs who were their next-door neighbours in spate of their being mapped together into a territorial and political unit and went over to the Prussians even at the risk of their life-Why? Not because the Sudetan Germans had a more definite territorial affinity with the Prussian Germans than they had with the Czechs or Slovaks but because they had linguistic, cultural, racial and historical affinities with the Germans m Germany and gloried In being a part and parcel of the German people. Note, on the other hand, that the German-lows had been not only Inhabiting the German land for centuries together with Germans, bound together with the Germans by the common bond of a territorial unit, but had been actually Incorporated into a common State, were actually Germans in political parlance, exercised equal rights as citizens of Germany-nay dominated the, German State as members of the National German legislature and executive.

Take again the Irish case. Ireland and England were a political unit and continued to have a common state and common Parliament for centuries together. The English lived in Ireland for generations lnter-marrying, inter-dining, speaking the same tongue 'English’. The Ulsterite English and Irish have the common bond of territorial unity and a distinctly marked out Ireland as a common country. Their religion too is common nor is Ireland a very big continental territorial unit. It is hardly as big as a presidency in India But did ail these common factors, a common and so close a habitat as Ireland the English and the Irish mould into a common nation ? No ' the Irish revolted, despised the imperial advantages they had In common with England, revived their own Irish tongue which was

well nigh dead and organized a separate Irish National State The Ulsterite English on the contrary refused to have any national relation with her next-door Irishman with whom he has lived for centuries and pines for his union with his English brethren whose face he might have never seen and who reside seas apart from him. Why ? Because between the Irish and the English the want of common racial, cultural and historical affinities repulses each other more than a mere territorial unity can attract.

It is not only a Political fact but a Human one

17. These few Illustrations even of up-to-date nations will show that in almost all cases a common territorial unit, a common habitat, cannot by Itself weld peoples differing in religious, racial, cultural and such other affinities Into a national unit. It is not only a political fact but a human one that religious, racial, cultural, linguistic or historical affinities make men feel more akin to each other than the only fact of their residing In a common habitat unless that is an addition to these common ties This tendency of people having these affinities to form themselves into a group or into a Nation and not by the mere fact of being mapped together, has its roots deep down In human or even animal nature. But we are not called upon here to go into any psychology of it. Suffice It to say that the efficient factor that constitutes people into an organic nation is their will to be one homogeneous national unit and this will is induced by such of those affinities.
as we have Indicated above far more eminently and Intensely than by the mere fact of their residing in a common country.

Have the Indian Moslems, then that will : to be one with the Hindus

18. That is the question of questions and the Congressite Hindus at the beginning of the Indian National movement never wanted a minute to ponder over it nor do they even today take it into their head even during the Interval when they adjourn the National Congress for hours In deference to the Moslem prayer times. It is useless simply to declare the Moslem League communal that is no news. The fact is that the whole Moslem community is communal Including the Congressman Moslems. The question that ought to be understood is why are they so communal ? The Congressite Hindus from the very beginning simply dared not study that question Because they feared that such a study would compel their fad of a territorial Nationality of Indian unity in the sense they understand it, to give up the ghost 1 ` fanaticism -Fo11y ' you exclaim ? But Fanaticism or Folly-it is to the Moslems a soled fact and you cannot get over it by calling it names but must face it as it stands. To my mind for reasons alluded to above, it is quite human for the Moslems to bear instinctive apathy to the idea of a territorial nationality, as envisaged by the Congressites who in general are totally ignorant of Moslem history, theology and political trend of mend. This anti-pathy of the Indian Moslems can be seen through right perspective if you bear at least the following facts in mind-

(a) The Moslems In general and Indian Moslems in particular have not as yet grown out of the historical stage, of Intense religiosity and the theological concept of state.

(b) Their theology and theocratical politics divide the human world into two groups only , The Moslem land and the enemy land A1l lands which are either entirely Inhabited by the Moslems or are ruled over by the Moslems are Moslem lands. All lands which are mostly Inhabited by non-Moslems or are ruled over by a non-Moslem power are enemy lands and no faithful Moslem is allowed to bear any loyalty to them and is called upon to do everything In his power by policy or force or fraud to convert the non-Moslem there to Moslem faith, Otto bring about its political conquest by a Moslem power It is no good quoting sentences here or there from Moslem theological books to prove the contrary Read the whole book to know its trend. And again it is not with books that we are concerned here but with the followers of the books and how they translate them in practice. You will then see that the whole Moslem history and their daily actions are framed on the design 1 have outlined above. Consequently, a territorial patriotism is a word unknown to the Moslem nay is tabooed. unless In connection with a Moslem territory. Afghans can be patriots, for Afghanistan is a Moslem territory today. But an Indian Moslem lf he is a real Moslem and they are intensely religious as a people-cannot faithfully bear loyalty to lndia as a country? as a nation, as a State, because It is today f an Enemy Land ' and doubly lost ; for non-Moslems are in a majority here and to boot at is not ruled by any Moslem power, Moslem sovereign.

(c) Add to this that of all non-Moslems the Hindus are looked upon as the most damned by Moslem theologians. For Christians and Jews are after all ' Kitabis' having the holy books partially in common. But the Hindus are totally ' Kafirs ' as a consequence their land a Hindusthan ' is pre-eminently an ‘enemy ' - and as long as it is not ruled by Moslems or all Hindus do not embrace Islam. This is the religious mentality of the Indian Moslems who stall live and move and have their being in religiosity. There are some of them like Mohamed Ali and others who in their individual capacity are not so religious minded but who, nevertheless, encourage this mentality in their masses as a very suitable, political, racial and cultural weapon. What wonder then that the Moslem League should openly declare its intention to join hands with non-lndian alien Moslem countries rather than with Indian Hindus in forming a Moslem Federation ? They could not be accused from their point of view of being traitors to Hindusthan. Their conscience was clear. They never looked upon our today's ' Hindusthan ' as their country, nation It is to them already an alien land, and enemy land- ' a Dar-ul-Harb ' and not a ‘Dar-ul-lslam !!’

(d) This is the religious and laving mentality of the Moslems Consequently, their political and cultural mentality also is essentially anti-Hindu and is bound to do so as long as they continue to be Moslems and ‘the faithfuls’. They are vividly conscious of the fact that they entered India as conquerors and subjected the Hindus to their rule. They are also gifted with a curious memory that is supremely oblivious of all events which remind them of their defeats and discomfitures. They will never remember that the Hindus beat them like a clip In a hundred battlements in India and had in the long run freed all India from the Moslem yoke and re-established Hindu-pad-padshahi as Indicated above in section six of this address. They know, that they form a powerful minority in India. Their population is growing m every successive census report. *What is to be especially noted by our Hindu Sanghatanist party is the fact that some of our Hindu superstitious and suicidal social customs Iike the untouchabilty, the ban on shuddhi on widow remarriages,*

etc., etc-, offer them a fertile field for Moslem proselytisation and convention. So under the present circumstances they rightly hope to increase their population ant! decrease the Hindus with equal rapidity. They know that the British are sure for a long time to come, to offer them every facility and help to strengthen the Moslem position against the Hindus whose rise and political ambitions the British whole heartedly dread. They are also sure that the Congressite Hindus in their persuit of the silly fad of bringing about a Hindu Moslem unity in India based on the impossible common bond of a territorial unity only, are certain to yield to Moslem demands with can amount of Moslem browbeating as regards weightages, special and larger representation, etc. and especially m suppressing the Hindu Sanghatan movement that is at present the only thorn in their sides. They realise that in the Indian army and the armed police, they the Moslems In spite of their being in minority are already the predominant factor holding some 60% jobs with all these factors In their favour they are fully confident, wisely or unwisely, that in case the British are overpowered in some big world war, the Moslems with the help of the non-lndian Moslem powers bordering our country may snatch out the political sovereignty of India out of the British hands and re-establish a Moslem Empire here Then alone they can and will love India as their own country as a ` Moslem land ' and sing wholeheartedly by themselves ` Bharat Hamara Desh Hai ! ' or ' Hindusthan Hamara Desh Hai ' But till then it must remain "an enemy land to the Moslem to the faithful.

I wish the British also to take a serious note of the fact indicated at the close of this last paragraph and curtail their policy of encouraging Moslems too much in their anti-Hindu activities. In view of the open declaration of the Moslem league to divide India into two parts, Inviting the alien Moslem nations from outside India to form Moslem Federation and raise an Independent Moslem Kingdom in India, the British also should think twice before they trust their ` Favoured wife ' too much Just to spite the Hindus The harem intrigues In Moslem history are well known and the Brutish may find In the end that in their attempt to encourage this their ` favourite wife ' just to spite the Hindus the British have but succeeded In spiting themselves Nevertheless that concerns the British and they can take care of themselves. What concerns us Hindus is the fact that we get determined not to play the part of a handmaid either to the British or to the Moslems but are masters In our owl house, Hindusthan, the land of the Hindus.

With this end in view what should be our Immediate Programme

19 Knowing it then for certain that the Indian Moslems, for reasons some of which are referred to above, are about the- last people to Join the Hindus In forming any common political nation on equal footing in India based on the only common bond of our territorial unity, out of a merely territorial Indian Patriotism, let us Hindu Sanghatanists first correct the origin mistake, the original political sin which our Hindu Congressites most unwillingly committed at the beginning of the India National Congress movement and are persistently committee still of running after the mirage of a territorial Indian Nation and of seeking to kill as an Impediment in that fruitless purse the lifegrowth of an organic Hindu Nation Let us Hindus resume the thread of our national life where, as I have shown In section seven of this address, our grandfathers left It at the fall of Maratha and Sikh Hindu Empires. The live and organic growth the self conscious Hindu nation

that was suddenly struck with a atrophy of self-forgetfulness must again be revived, resurrected Let us, therefore, boldly reproclaim even in the words of Govind rao Kale who wrote them so early as 1793 In his letter quoted in section six above that the land which extends from the lndus to the Southern seas is Hindustan -the land of the Hindus and we Hindus are the nation that owns it. If you call it an Indian Nation it is merely an English synonym for the Hindu nation to us Hindus, Hindusthan and India mean one and the same thing. We are Indians because we are Hindus and vice versa.

Yes, we Hindus are a nation by ourselves. Because religious racial, cultural and historical affinities bind us intimately into a homogeneous nation and added to it we are most pre-emln entry gifted with a territorial unity as well Our racial being identified with India-our beloved Fatherland and our Holyland above all and Irrespective of it all we Hindus will to be J Nation and, therefore, we are a Nation None has a right to challenge or demand a proof of our common nationality when some thirty crones of us Hindus are with it.

It is absurd to call us a community in India. The Germany are the nation in Germany and the Jews a Community. The Turks are the nation in Turkey and Arab or the Armenian minority a community. Even so the Hindus are the nation In India in Hindusthan, and the Moslem minority a community.

Referring to the Sudetan Germans the leaders of the Moslem League threatened us the other day at their Karachi session that if their demands in overriding the Hindus are not granted In India they would play the part of the Sudetan Germans and call in their Moslem co-religionists power across the border inside India to their help as the Sudetan Germans called the Germans in Sudetan land. To that threat I retort that our friends in the Moslem League should not cry till they are out of the woods. They should remember that their Illustration cuts both ways. lf they grow stronger they can play the part of the Sudetan Germans alright But if we Hindus in India grow stronger in time these Moslem friends of the league type will have to play the part of German-Jews Instead We Hindus have taught the Shakas and the Huns already to play that part pretty well. So it is no use bandying words till the test comes the taste of the pudding is in its eating.

Indian Nationalism also is Communalism in relation to humanity

20. If to such an outspoken attitude of being a Hindu nationalist on your part, an Indian nationalist of the Congress type raises the objection ` Oh, but do you not see how narrow minded It is to thank of Hindus and Moslems, this race or religion and that in sectarian mood ? Man to man we all are one. Let us think of universal brotherhood alone.'

Then inquire of him in return ` Brother, universal brother- hood we Hindus adore even to a fault. But will you tell us, Oh Indian Nationalist. why you thank of this nation and that, why thank of an Indian Nationality in a sectarian sense ?' Is it because India is a territorial unit but then there are other territorial units 'in the world. Why are you an Indian patriot and not an Abyssinian one and go there and fight for their freedom ? It is

precisely because by company and education you feel yourselves more akin to the Indian people in virtue of racial or religious or cultural affinities than you feel at home with other nationalities- although you may not be aware of this reason. Verily you worship a God you know not. Nor you know that Indian or any patriotism cannot but be communal in relation to humanity; for nationality is as strong a principle of human division as is a racial or religious or cultural community.

Hindu nationalists should not at all be apologetic to being called Hindu Communalists

21. The fact is that Nationalism and Communalism are in themselves either equally Justifiable and human or not. Nationalism when it is aggressive is as immoral in human relation as is communalism when it tries to suppress the equitable rights of other communities and trees to usurp all to Itself But when communalism is only defensive, it is as justifiable and human as an, equitable nationalism itself. The Hindu nationalists do not all to usurp what belongs to others Therefore, even if they be called Hindu communalists they are justifiably so and are about the only real Indian Nationalists. For, a real and justifiable Indian Nationalism must be equitable to all communities that compose the Indian Nation. But for the same reason the Moslems alone are communalists in an unjustifiable anti-national and treacherous sense of the term. For it is they who want to usurp to themselves all that belongs to others. The Indian National Congress only condemns Itself as an anti-national body when It calls in the same breath the Hindu Mahasabha and the Moslem League as bodies equally communal in the reprehensible and treacherous sense of that term Consequently, if to defend the just and equitable rights of Hindus in their own land is communalism then we are communalists par excellence and glory in being the most devoted Hindu communalists whack to us means being the truest and the most equitable Indian Nationalists !

22. Having determined then once for all to revive the concept of an organic Hindu Nation and regenerates its life growth as the first item of our Immediate programmed the second. and consequent Item must be to review every action and every event in public life from the only standpoint of Hindu interests without mincing matters at all. From the local details of the mused and the mosque questions right up to the question of Indian Federation and from the internal Indian political policy to our foreign and international policy and relations we shall openly and separately take up a stand as Hindus and support, oppose or take every step in the interests of Hindudom alone. Our politics henceforth will be purely Hindu politics fashioned and tested in Hindu terms only, in such wise as will help the consolidation, freedom and life-growth of our Hindu Nation.

23. The third item in our immediate programme will be a redecoration of our attitude to the question of Indian Unity even in its territorial aspect. In its own interests the Hindu Nation does not shut the door to any possibility of a united Indian nation provided It is based on an equitable and equal footing The Hindus will ever be ready to grant equal rights and representation to all minor communities in India an legislatures and services, civil and political life in proportion to population and merit. The Hindus although they are in overwhelming majority will still waive their right of claiming any preferential

treatment, and special prerogatives which In fact in every other nation are due to the major community But the Hindus will never tolerate the absurd and the unheard of claim of the minorities to have any preferential treatment, weightages or special favours river and above what the major community obtains. The Hindu nation will go so far as to accept the equitable national principle of ` one man one vote ' irrespective of religion or race or culture in the formation of a common Indian State; but it shall knock on the head any political demand that claims, ` One Moslem three votes' and ` three Hindus one vote !' or any cultural demand that antagonises or insults or suppresses Hindu culture in its historical, linguistic, religious or racial aspect. The minorities will be free to follow their religion, speak their language, develop their culture amongst themselves provided it does not Infringe on the equal rights of others or is not opposed to public peace and morality. If the Moslems join us on these equitable conditions and bear undivided loyalty to the Indian State and the Indian State alone well and good Otherwise our formula holds good, 'If you come with you, if you don't without you; but if you oppose in spite of you we Hindus will fight out the good battle of achieving the independence of India and herald the rebirth of a free and mighty Hindu nation In near future !'

24. Our foreign policy also will be guided from an out- spoken and unalloyed Hindu point of view. All those nations who are friendly or likely to be helpful to Hindu nation will be our friends and allies. All those who will oppose the Hindu nation or are likely to endanger Hindu interests will be opposed by us. All those who do neither, we will observe a policy of neutrality towards them, irrespective of any political ism they choose to follow for themselves No academic and empty slogans of democracy or Nazism or fascism can be the guiding principle of our foreign policy Hindu interests alone will be our test. No more 'Khilafats or Palestine afats'can dupe us into suicidal sympathies and complications. Our relations with England also will be guided by the same Hindu policy, having the absolute political independent of the Hindu Nation in view.

25. Towards the minorities our attitude under the Hindus will circumstances must be all that we Present differential assure then hate nor the Christian nor the Indian Europeans but henceforth we shall take good cart to see that none of them dares to hate or belittle the Hindus also.
Amongst the minorities : -

The Parsees are by race, religion, language and culture most akin to us. They have gratefully been loyal to India and have made her their only home. They have produced some of the best Indian patriots and revolutionists like Dada Bhai and Madam Cama. They will have to be and therefore, shall be incorporated into the common Indian State with perfectly equal rights and trust.

The Christian minority is civil, has no extra-territorial poll tidal designs against India is not linguistically and culturally averse to the Hindus and therefore, can be politically assimilated witty us. Only in religion they differ from us and are a proselytising church. so in that matter alone the Hindus must be on their guard and give the missionaries no blind latitude to carry on their activities beyond voluntary and legitimate conversion. The Hindus also must continue to reconvert the Christians and

carry on the Shuddhi movement on the same voluntary and legitimate bases. It is only In our Travancore state that the Christians seem to cherish, some political design against the Hindu state and it is only there that we shall have to treat them with some political distrust by not allowing them too much latitude in the state affairs and offices, till they too cease to be political suspects to the Hindus as the Christians in other parts of India have ceased to be.

As to the JEWS in India, they are too few have given us no Political or cultural troubles and are not in the main proselytising people , they will to be friendly to wards to Hindus e who have sheltered them when homeless and can be easily assimilated in a common Indian state. But this fact must not land into the suicidal generosity our forefathers had ban guilty of in other cases of inviting colonies of non-Hindus to India. With every sympathy with the Jews outside India, the Hindus must therefore, oppose the present Congressite proposal of inviting or allowing any new Jewish colony to settle in India. India must be a Hindu land, reserved for the Hindus. While our own Hindu overpopulation in some parts of India is hard pressed to find land for extension, how absurd it is to invite non-Hindu colonies to settle in our thinly populated parts ! How ridiculous it is to find some Congressites preaching birth-control to restrict our own population in order to avoid overcrowding and start straightaway to invite Jewish colonies to settle in India. We must exhort our esteemed Divan of Cochin in particular to take a leaf out of the history of Travancore and set his face sternly against any proposal or outside pressure to allow the alien Jews to colonize the lands in Cochin.

So far as the Moslem minority is concerned, I have already dealt with it at length. In short we must watch it in all its actions with the greatest distrust possible. Granting them on the one hand every equitable treatment which an Indian citizen can claim on an equality of footing with another, we must sternly refuse them any the least preferential treatment in any sphere of life religious, cultural or political. Not only while we are engaged in our struggle for liberating india but even after India is free we must look upon them as suspicious friends and take great care to see that the Northern Frontiers of India are well guarded by staunch and powerful Hindu forces to avoid the possible danger of the Indian Moslems going over to the alien Moslem nations across the lndus and betraying our Hindusthan to our non- Hindu foes.

But, how to bell the Cat ?

26.While listening to all this and agreeing with me as to the efficacy of this Hindu policy in future, every Hindu Sanghatanist here must have been weighed down with one single question.' But how are we to bell the cat ? How to raise ways and. means to put this policy into practice ? How are we to enable ourselves to be in so strong a position as to shape events to our liking in face of the overwhelming predicaments and owerlessness in which the Hindu Sanghatanist movement is struck today ?' l tell you don't be down-hearted. The most efficient weapon is already lying close at hand , only stretch out your hand in the right direction and you grasp it. Let us Just begin at the beginning and--

Capture the political Power that obtains in India today

27. If but the Hindu Sanghatanists capture the seats that are allotted to the Hindus under the present constitution in Municipalities, Boards and Legislatures you will find that a sudden lift is given to the Hindu movement so as to raise it to an incredible power in relation to your present all-round helplessness ' It is a bigger order stall ' You may explain ` How are we to capture even that political power which is allotted to the Hindus today ? In a fit of self-forgetfulness it is we Hindus who resigned that power into the hands of the congressites. It is true that we Hindus made the congress what it is ? But it has now suddenly turned against us who raised it to a position of power over some seven provinces in India ! Now the very concept of a Hindu Nation stinks in its nostrils, It has already declared the Hindu Mahasabha a communal and reprehensible body and ordered millions of congressite Hindus not to have anything to do with it may be that one of those days it may proclaim the Hindu Sanghatan movement itself as an act of high treason against the congress fad of an Indian territorial Patriotism. But it is now grown too strong for us to dislodge it from its position and compel it to yield back the political power which as of right was due to us Hindus alone '.

I know that this difficulty stares every Hindu Sanghatanist in the face all over India. It is true that the congress looks today like a veritable anti-Hindu tower of strength- but I assure you at is a painted one! Approach and touch the canvas and you will find it!!

Let the Hindu Sanghatanists boycott the Congress and it will come to its senses in no time ! !

28.Before we proceed to indicate the easiest remedy too capture the political power and disable the Congress from doing any practical harm to the Hindu Sanghatan movement let us declare in unmistakable terms that we are not out to spite the Congress Institution Itself, nor the leaders and followers thereof. Mr. Jinnah is quite correct in stating that the Congress has been since its inception down to this day a Hindu body manned mostly by the Hindu brains, Hindu money, and Hindu sacrifice. Even today some of them are noble patriots They are erring but cannot be wicked and almost all of them are our own kith and kin The few Moslems there, although they are allowed to boss the Congress policy at times through the suicidal folly of the Hindu leaders, are but nonentities, are kept there merely as figureheads to run the poor show of a `United Indian Nation.' We are out not to spate the Congress as an institution but to chastise its anti-Hindu policy, to cure it of the Intolerable hypocrisy which is all the more harmful for its strutting about under the mask of Truth, Truth absolute and nothing but Truth, with its lathe charges and English bayonets going merrily hand in hand with non-violence, non-violence absolute and nothing but non-violence in thought, word and deed ! !

So under the present circumstances the Congress has compel- led us to disown it and divest it of all power to represent the Hindus in any aspect or capacity whatsoever. They have foolishly challenged the Hindu Community and the Hindu Mahasabha and we must take up the challenge.

Just think, Oh Hindu Sanghatanists, on what meat does this Congress feed that it

has grown so great? Only remember that the Congress draws all its supplies-men, money and votes, from the Hindus Then cut off those supplies and tile position which the Congress has taken against the Hindus and which seems to be so Impregnable will be untenable in no time.

All the national importance and political power that the Congress has come to wield today in India and the ministries and majorities it holds in legislatures are but derived from the Hindu Electorate The Congressite Hindu cannot get a single Mohammedan vote, for the constitution itself is communal. The Mohammedan can vote only for a Mohammedan, the Christians for a Christian and so on. Congressites-and they are mostly Hindus-can but get them elected to the legislature, boards and municipalities, on the strength of the Hindu votes if the Hindus make it a point not to vote for a Congress ticket, then? Not a Single congressman can be returned to either a local legislature! They stand on Hindu shoulders as Hindu candidates soon as they raise themselves to those high places they kick the Hindus back, disown the Hindus, call Hindu organizations as communal and, therefore, reprehensibly betray Hindu interests at every turn but keep dancing attendance on the Moslem League. But if you withdraw that your shoulder, that your support, then ? You will find that political power and public importance of the Congress as dead as a door-nail. They call themselves Indian Nationalists ! But every step they take is communal they have guaranteed special protection to minorities - Moslems, Christians, Europeans, etc. Is that Indian Nationalism ? A true Indian Nationalist must know nothing of Moslems and Hindus. minorities and majorities. To him all must be Indians only. Why do they then take cognisance of communities, religious or racial, in India ? And if they can take cognisance of- the communal minorities then why do they fight so shy to take cognisance of the major community, the Hindus, or call those who do so as reprehensible communalists ? Nay more; a true Indian Nationalist, if honest, will never go avenging for votes from a constituency which is openly tabulated as general that means non-Moslem, non-Christian, etc. That is an electorate which is not national. A truly radian National electorate cannot be divided as Moslem one and non-Moslem one or Christian one and non-Christian one, special and general. A truly Indian National electorate must be only an ` Indian' electorate pure and simple without the least mention of the unnational and unreasonable difference of race or religion. lf our Congressites are true and conscientious Indian Nationalists they ought to refuse forthwith to stand as candidates to elections under this communal electoral roll and resign their seats forthwith which are tainted with these communal labels. Is there a single Congress Minister or member ready to resign and run that ordeal ? None, none ! Next election when they come to your Hindu doors to beg for votes tell them in all honesty and humility ` Sirs Congressmen you are Indian Nationalists; but I am a Hindu and this is a Hindu Electorate ? Then how can you accept a vote so tainted by communalism ?. Please go to a truly ` Indian Nationalist electorate,' to beg for votes wherever you may find it; and if you find it nowhere in the world today please wait till a pure and simple and truly Indian electorate,' comes into!' Do you think you will find a dozen congress candidates honest enough to do so? None, none!

Then again every candidate under the present constitution has to write his religion and even caste. Then only can he be drafted out to separate electorates, Hindus, Moslems,

Christians, etc These Congress candidates in the election season quietly write down their community as Hindus ! They mark down Hindu homes even according to castes- Brahmins, Marathas, Bhangis, etc. and then allot their candidates according to their castes to the caste voters so that he may pool up larger votes. They appeal even to caste pride and caste hatred. In the electional season they are communalists of the worst type. But as soon as the election season is over the Congress candidate dons on again his Indian National robes and hits back the very Hindu who paid him his vote as a Hindu that it is a shame for a Hindu to call himself a Hindu, and to be a member of the Hindu Mahasabha !

But if you once make it quite clear that you as Hindus are not going to vote for any such seasonal Hindu but only for a Hindu who is born and bred and means to continue to be true to his Hindu race even after the election season is over and if once these gentlemen know for certain that they can never be elected on Hindu votes unless they are members of the Hindu Mahasabha-what do you think will happen ? I assure you that 75 per cent of these Indian Nationalists will vie with each other to register themselves as members of the Hindu Mahasabha over- night and vow to be Hindus even fanatically throughout their life rat her than lose a chance of being members and ministers and somebodies in the Government Secretariats !

Then the only way which is also unbelievably easy, not only to chastise Congress Nationalist fad but even to raise Hindudom to incalculably powerful position in the land at a stroke is under the present circumstances this,-

(1) Boycott the Congress;
(2) Don't vote for the Congress ticket ; and
(3) Vote only for a confirmed and merited Hindu Nationalist.

29. Let no Hindu Sanghatanist pay a single farthing or lend a single member or register a single vote for the Congress ticket. We know by experience that even a staunch Hindu has to act against Hindu interests as soon as he is tainted by a Congress ticket under the Congress discipline and for the selfish fear that he would otherwise lose his job. When once the Congressites know that the Congress cap or ticket is at a serious discount in the Hindu market, is no royal road to the councils or local bodies you will find that the Hindu caps will sell like hot cakes and Hindu Sabha tickets will rise in an unsupplyable demand!

30. In a nutshell the position is this: there is a Moslem electorate to protect the Moslem Interests There is a Hindu electorate in fact, though It is named to spite the Hindus as `general' which we can use to protect Hindu Interests. The Moslems being in majority in some three provinces they took good care to see that only those Moslems were elected on their votes who pledged openly to save Moslem Interests alone. We Hindus are in majority in some seven provinces , we sillily handed over our votes to those some of whom blatantly proclaimed they were not Hindus at all and all of whom promised that they were not going to safeguard the special interests of Hindus, not even the just and equitable interests of Hindus, as Hindus The result is that even In those seven provinces where we are In a majority and of course in those three provinces where Moslems dominate I - we Hindus are reduced to be veritable helots throughout our land. In some

cases as in Bengal and the Frontier our very life and property stand in hourly danger, the honour of womanhood insecure Thus we Hindus have thrown away to the winds whatever had not an unsubstantial political power was won by hard struggle carried on and sacrifices undergone by our Hindu patriots and by ourselves amongst them, for the last fifty years and more. While the Moslem ministers are openly members of the Moslem League, they lead it, they avow to be the advocates of Moslem interests, even threaten to ` Satan ' the Hindus, frame themselves and get passed Government balls to reserve 60 % services for Moslems in Bengal, what do the Congressite Ministers and members whom Hindu electorate sent to the councils to represent Hindu interests do ? In Bengal the Congress M L.As practically supported this atrocious Moslem reservation, they have acquiesced all over India in the pro-Moslem communal award-and denounce the Hindu Mahasabha also for carrying on an agitation against It ! ! In every case when Hindu interests are threatened by Moslems they have leaned towards the Moslems Just to parade that they were Indian patriots. Witness the Congress attitude with regard to the Shahid Ganj affair, Delhi temple struggle, the Nizam and the Bhopal questions But is not such an anti-national pro-Moslem attitude also an act of communalism? It is worst on the part of a Congressite who got himself elected on Hindu votes, it is downright treachery!

Form a Solid Hindu Nationalist Front

31. The only way to chastise this anti-Hindu and anti- National policy of the Congress, the best and easiest remedy under the circumstances lies In the fact of forming a Hindu Nationalist Front! Let all our Sadhus, Sanatanists, Aryasamajists and Sanghatanist organizations all over India make it a point never to vote for a congress candidate but vote for a Hindu nationalist candidate alone. Even to day the strength of all these faithful Hindu parties put together cannot but be counted in millions.
We shall and must succeed In forming majorities in almost all provinces where Hindus are in majority Even if we fall in some cases through the folly of a number of Hindu renegades It is still quite possible to began with, to return a sufficiently strong minority of Hindu Nationalists to the councils In Provinces and the Centre to make it impossible for any Government to function without gaining the support of our Hindu nationalist Party. If you do this, you will have real Hindu Ministries-Hindu National Ministries openly avowed to safeguard Hindu interests in seven provinces at a stroke ! That will raise the Hindu cause and the Hindu nation immediately to be the greatest political power in the land. You will find as if by a transfer scene that Hindudom has come home, the Hindu Mahasabha suddenly lifted out of its present state of being a persecuted and neglected body and raised to the position of dictatorship in shaping the political destiny of India. Every Hindu will raise his head high and erect, conscious of his importance and assured of the Government backing he is sure to get in the defense and assertion of all his legitimate rights -religious, racial, cultural. If a Hindu girl is molested in any part of the land by a Moslem gunda such a condign punishment will promptly be inflicted on him as to render all Moslem gundas tremble to touch any other Hindu girl as in the case of molesting an English girl. If any riot on the part of the Moslem fanatics seeks to force the Hindus to forego their civil rights, the armed police and the military forces will be so promptly and vigorously made to function against the aggressive party that Moslem riots will be a thing of the past and they will learn to tolerate Hindu music by the public

thoroughfare as kindly as they do now the Government and English bands and processions. The peasants and the labourers will get what is due to them as the very foundation of national life and industry and commerce. Hindu language will be safe. Hindu script will be safe, Hindu religion will be safe, no illegitimate or forceful conversion of a Hindu to non-Hindu faiths, will be tolerated for a minute. No Hindu advances will be made begging on knees before the Moslems for unity. For confident in our own Hindu strength to achieve Indian Independence through our own sacrifice and struggle even as we did in the past, our Hindu nationalists will be prepared to fight any non-Hindu power that stands in the way of our onward march towards the achievement of the independence of Hindusthan and its maintenance against all non-Hindu invasions. The very concept and ideal and right of a powerful Hindu Nation will bring out all that is best and bravest in the Hindu spirit to the forefront as nothing else can do. If the Moslems pass an Act in Bengal to reserve 60 % services for Moslems, our Hindu national ministries will at once get an Act passed in Hindu majority provinces to reserve 90 % services for Hindus even where we are only 80 % in population, as a retributory measure without making any the least apology for it. when we will be in a position to retaliate thus in this wise and do retaliate the Moslems will come to their senses in a day, we shall not only save Hindu rights and honour in the Hindu provinces but even in provinces where we Hindus are in minority. Knowing that every attempt to tyrannise the Hindus is sure to recoil on themselves and react for the worse on Moslem interests in all India-the Moslems will learn to behave as good boys and it is then they who will be anxious to open unity talks and knowing they are in a hopeless minority in india and no more dreams of mass conversions of Hindus by force and fraud and by kidnapping Hindu children in eight- the Moslems will inevitably and soon be in a frame of mind to acquiesce in equitable Hindu Moslems unity pacts. We shall, in Punjab and the Frontier, have an allied party with our Sikh Hindu flank. Our Sikh Hindus though they have a separate electorate and rightly so under the present circumstances are strong enough to defend Sikh culture and honour and interests which are but our own culture and honour and interests and we will work hand in hand against all non-Hindu aggressions from outside the Frontier. In the Central legislature also the Hindu Nationalists will compel the Government, if you only return staunch Hindu Nationalist members in majority, to take drastic military steps against the Frontier Moslem tribes, beat them like a chip in no time and render our Hindu life and property there as safe as that of the handful of Europeans continue to be. In Maharashtra our Hindu National Party shall ally itself with the Democrats of the present day under that redoubtable champion of equitable and truly National policy-Jamnadas Mehta, the eminent leader of opposition, Dr. Ambedkar and in all other provinces with every party and every one who stands for and in so far as he stands for safeguarding the just and national and equitable interest of Hindus in common with all other citizens of India irrespective of race or religion.

32. Nor need there be any fear of breaking up the so-called united front against the British Imperialism. The present Congress united front is a feigned show, a house of cards. The Hindu National united front will be a realistic, homogeneous. the living front. We shall not only be able to advance the just interests of the Hindu Nation but side by side will be in a position with our equitable and truly Indian National policy as I have outlined in section 23 of this address,-even to advance the interest of the Indian Nation

even in its territorial sense also far more rapidly and solidly and vigorously than this present Quixotic Congress policy with its proposals of doing away with armed military and guarding the frontiers with girl volunteers with Charkhas in their hands can never do ! Down with all that nonsense for ever and up with the matter-of-fact Indian politics and the consequent Hindu Nationalist front.

Remember, Oh Hindus, that in raising the standard of this Hindu Nationalist Front, you are exercising but your legitimate constitutional rights and can give unjustifiable affront to none- Every Hindu is required by the constitution to vote for whomsoever he likes. So long as bayonets do not extort your votes against your own will for an anti-Hindu candidate, so long it is the easiest and legitimate thing for you to vote for a Hindu Nationalist. If but every Hindu does that easy duty for his race Hindudom is saved. And if the Hindus do not do even that much and determine to commit a cultural and political and racial suicide by voting for an anti-Hindu and anti-National organization as the Congress has grown today into one-not even Brahmadeva can save you.

Then begin, mined to see that you Hindu Sanghatanists who are deter- Hindudom asserts itself, begin at once at the beginning, from a united Hindu National front under an unalloyed Hindu National Flag and capture the political power that even.
today obtains by voting only for Hindu Nationalists and you will see that the larger part of your present local and detailed grievances dissipate like a mist at the very sight of Hindu Nationalist ministries formed in seven provinces in India and at the Centre. When you have this much more shall be added unto you-and one of these days you shall have' heralded an independent and strong and mighty Hindu Nation which is but tantamount with a mighty Indian Nation based on perfect equality of citizenship for all loyal and faithful Indian citizens irrespective of race and religion from Indus to the Seas. Remember ` those who have more will be added unto them but those who have not even that wills be taken away from them which they have!' This is the inexpugnable law in this matter-of-fact world! Capture and have then first the political power that exists ! Raise the standard of a Hindu Nation! See to it that India must remain a Hindustan forever: never a Pakistan! - an Anglisthan never never! ! ! And let all India resound with

HINDU DHARMAKI JAY! HINDU RASHTRAKI JAY! ! VANDE MATARAM! !!

21ST session

Calcutta- 1939

Delegates to the members of the Hindu Mahasabha,

I gratefully acknowledge your appreciation of whatever services I have been able to render to The Hindu cause during the past two years of my tenure of this presidential office which has persuaded you in calling upon me to preside over this Session also for the third time in an unbroken succession. The keen consciousness of the overwhelming contrast between the stupendous amount of the work which ought to be done if we want to realize our noble aspirations in full and the relatively scanty output of work actually done by us all ,weighs so heavily on my mind that you all know how I wished and tried to transfer the task of leading the Hindu movement to some mightier Herculian shoulders and re enter the rank of soldiers as a fighting unit. But firstly because common enormous requirement makes it incumbent upon us all not to cease from doing even that little which we can do standing by our posts against all odds under the most adverse circumstances which this our generation has to face and thirdly on account of the encouraging fact that thousands of eminent brave and devoted new workers have entered the field and assure me that they shall see to it in the spirit of a Pratap that the Hindu cause triumphs before this generation passes away and have actually given just a glimpse in fact of this their grim resolve during the Nijam civil Resistance struggle do I yield to your kind and almost compelling pressure to accept the office of the president of the Hindu mahasabha for the third time in spite of my failing health.

Within the limited space of a Presidential Address like this it is hardly possible to take even a cursory notice of the thousand and one events and problems which Hindudom had to face during this year locally, provincially and generally from sindh to Assam. The bloody orgies in which the Moslem mobs indulged only recently in the anti-Hindu riots at Sukkur and other place in Sindh, the continuous campaign of raids committed by the Moslem tribes on the North-western Frontier province rendering Hindu life and property in daily danger; the looting of towns and villages by Moslem gangs proclaiming all along with drum –beating ‘No Moslem need be disturbed ,only Hindus will we loot’; hundreds of anti-Hindus riots and outrages committed by the Moslem fanatics at various places in the U.P., Bihar and Bengal; -this Moslem Gundaism on the one hand and the polished and parliamentary Moslem League on the other ,- which , treating Hindu minority with the gentle civilities indicated above in Sindh , Punjab and Bengal complain with righteous indignation that the Moslem minority is the only suffering saint throughout the world ; then the Congress-League –Government negations which threaten to prove damaging to Hindu interests in a far more alarming degree than even the notorious Communal Decision has proved to be and above all the war situation which has given a handle to the Government to restore autocracy in all its pristine glory putting the hands of the clock of constitutional progress in India full fifty years back ;-all these and

several other events require to be dealt with in detail. But I must leave them to be treated thus by the several resolutions which will have to be proposed in special connection with them and to the leading speakers who in cases may deal with them more authoritatively either owing to their local acquaintance with the details or their expert study of the special questions in hand. So that the little space at my disposal may be better utilized in dealing with those basic principles, policy and programme which should guide our movements in general and on which we must now concentrate our attention and efforts for at least a couple of years to come. Nevertheless while dealing with these, I shall of course have occasion to treat with some of those outstanding current events too, but only by way of illustrating their central message and bearing on the Hindu Movement in general.

II

The Nizam Civil Resistance Movement

Of all these events which took place during the current year the most outstanding form the Hindu Sanghatanist point of view and one which has an abiding message for our future policy and programme is of course the campaign of Civil Resistance which we had to carry on against the anti-Hindu policy of the Nizam Government for full six month during this year. It was a veritable crusade, as righteous as heroic. Our Arya Samaji brethren had to bear the brunt of the fight : not less than ten thousand Arya joined the fight and fought so bravely as to demonstrate that the sacrificial fire lighted up by Maharshi Dayanand Swamiji, the first and foremost Hindu Sanghatanist of our age, burns brighter and brighter as days pass by and his mission has not fallen in to undeserving hands. Not less than five thousand civil Resister defied the anti-Hindu bans of the Nizam Government and kept up the fight with unflinching courage and admirable tact on the Hindu Mahasabha flank. But what is more encouraging to note from the pan Hindu point of view is the fact that it was not only the Arya Samaj and 'The Hindu Mahasabha , though these two in the main led the struggle, but it was the whole Hindu brotherhood in general which joined hands and participated in the movement so wholeheartedly and with such fervour under the Hindu flag that without this pan-Hindu co-operation, sympathy and sacrifice throughout India we could not have carried on the struggle to such a successful termination. This fact to my mind constitutes the really abiding achievement we could record, -apart from the detailed demand which the Hindu Sanghatanist had compelled the Nizam Government to grant. For this Dharma Yuddha this fight for the righteous Hindu cause proved to demonstrate that in spite of castes and creeds, sects and section, Hindudom as a whole does still pulsate with a common National Being. Behold , the thousands and thousands of Hindu leaving their hearths and homes , their nearest and dearest marching on even at the risk of their lives to the rescue of their co-religionists and compatriots in the Nizam's State whom they had perchance never seen or known personally ;The Punjabis and sindhis, Bengalis and Beharis, Marathas and Madrasis , Brahmins and Bhangis, Santanists , Arya Samajist , Sikhs, Jains , Lingaits , the rich and poor – every one who was proud of being a Hindu marched on

under a common Hindu banner for the vindication of Hindu Honour and faced untold miseries , outrageous riots, bayonets and lathi charges, hunger and thirst and even death but kept asserting to his last breth ‘Hindu Dharma ki jay , Hindustan Hinduonka.’

Take for example the case of Sjt. Reddy or some of those Hindu Sanghtanists who were ordered to be flogged or lathied for raising shouts of ‘vande mataram and Hindustan Hinduonka.’ For each strip and lathi stroke they went on repeating ‘vande mataram and Hindustan Hinduonka.’ Many a brave son died under torture. Amongst them was master Sadashiv Pathak , a Maratha boy under sixteen year of age who had to carry daily heavy stones on his head in spite of his bitter complaints that he suffered keen pangs in his chest, but he would not apologies and had to lay down his life in consequence. You will read such a numerous example of heroic devotion to the Hindu cause in the authenticated histories of this movement which are going to be published shortly both by the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha . why , there are present in this very Pandal here leaders and gentleman of unimpeachable integrity who had themselves passed through such orders while they were under imprisonment in the Nizam jails as leaders or soldiers fighting out this Dharma Yuddha , this crusade in vindication of Hindu Faith , Hindu Freedom and Hindu Honour.

These crusaders received no pay nor were their families promised pensions. Many of them had reigned their services and profession earning in cases thousands a month . all of them knew they were unarmed , marching against an armed force and from the fate which those who precede them they knew they will be tortured, starved, lathied and bayoneted too and yet they marched forth voluntarily , for there was no conscription but moral . you will be surprised to know that after the news of the outrageous lathied charged at Aurangabad on the Hindu sanghtanist prisoners , - volunteers came in larger numbers to our Shibirs to register their names and some who had then only recently returned after serving their first term in the Nizam jails as Civil Register , insisted on being sent again to defy the anti-Hindu bans in the Nizam state . The fact that such a Hindu Force consisting of fourteen to fifteen thousands Civil Resister could be raised at the very first blare of the trumpet call by the Hindu Sanghatanist party today is a lesson for us and for all those who dare to treat our demands lightly . these fifteen thousands Hindu Sanghatanists constitute a force superior to those English or German force who are now fighting in Europe , for respective Nations in moral courage and had it not been only a Civil Resistance Movement and we been in a position to face our opponents’ bayonet for bayonet and rifle for rifle , chances are they would have proved superior to them in an armed resistance too . but even if we let chances alone what is actual is also enough to. Encourage our Hindu Sanghatanist party in India with a self-confidence , with the bracing up consciousness of having won a Moral Victory and on the other hand to warn all anti-Hindu Force that they should henceforth think twice before they treat the resolution of the Hindu Mahasabha as lightly as they were wont to do. What we resolved in heroic words at Nagpur or Sholapur last year has been translated in to heroic deeds before we re-assemble at Calcutta on the eve of this ensuring year.

One more aspect of this struggle deserves a special emphasis inasmuch as it is sure to exercise a liberating influence on the future of the Hindu movement in

general. The Nizam Civil Resistance Campaign has broken the demoralizing spell which weighed like an incubus on the Hindu mind for some twenty years in the past that no cause howsoever righteous it may be in itself from the Hindu points of view should be deemed righteous unless the Congress was pleased to certify it as ‘National’ which word in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred proved to be tantamount with the word ‘anti-Hindu’ and that no movement on an all –India scale should be or could be carried out successfully unless it was sponsored and led on by the Congress Flag. Even in the case of the murderous Moslem riots at Kohat or the general massacres of Hindu perpetrated by the Moplas from village to village in fanaticism on a pan-Hindu scale all over India, because the step was not certified by the congress as ‘National’. The Congress wanted to play the same game even in this case and dictatorially anathematized the Nizam Civil Resistance Movement as ‘Communal,’ as ‘anti-National.’ But this time the Hindu Sanghatanist party had an ideology of its own conception of what is really National or otherwise interpreted in the light of reason that had freed itself from the blind and unquestioning subservience to any inner voice which on their own admission were sure passports to. Himalayan errors or new lights which scarcely made darkness visible and subservience to any Papal bulls issued by the Congress Church and marched on to the rescue of their Hindu co-religionist and compatriots in the Nizam State led on by the Hindu Flag. The movement rapidly spread throughout the length and breath of the country from Peshawar to Madras. On that one single evening for example, of the ‘Nizam Nisheda day’ as well as ‘Hindu Nation Day’ not less than a crore of Hindus were found gathered under the Hindu Flag in capital cities and towns throughout India in pursuance of the mandate to the Hindu Sanghatanists party to back up the Congress anathematized and opposed it as communal and anti-National.

Why did the Congress oppose it? The Congress wanted to reform the State: well, was not Hydrabad the biggest and yet the worst ruled autocratic State in India? It was at least as worthwhile to introduce constitutional reforms and restore civil liberties in the Nizam State as in tiny Taluka-like State of Rajkot. Did not Gandhiji want us to believe that the Reform movement of that petty Rajkot had assumed the magnitude of an all-India question, that the whole India Ocean was set on fire in the tiny tea cup of Mr. Veerawala? And yet the question of demanding constitutional reforms for nearly a crore of subject in the Nizam State which the Hindu Mahasabha had undertaken and was fighting for, seemed to him so remote and unconnected with the India question that he could not spare even as much sympathy or interest as he would for the Abyssinians in Africa, for the Spanish or the Czechs in Europe. Not only Gandhiji but no Congressite, neither the backward nor the forward nor the inward block or their head, stepped out condemn the Nizam Government even after the inhuman lathi charges on the Hindu civil Resisters at Aurangabad jail or the bloody riots at Hyderabad. Then again, did not the Congress patronize civil liberties? Was is not a fact that under Nizam Government even the life and property of million of Hindus was held in daily danger, no freedom either of speech or worship or association worth the name existed? Then why did the Congress join hands with Hindu Sanghatanists who were engaged in a life and death struggle to secure these civil liberties in the state or at least pass a resolution to support the justice of their demands? Was it because the Hindu Sanghatanist went to the field as Hindu instead of as Indians? Well , it may be a sin for a Hindu to do even a good thing as a Hindu –

except On the election day when he has to vote for a Congressite who has to state himself as a Hindu, as a unit in the Hindu electorate!—But when the Moslem in Kashmere rose with the help of demanding representation for the Moslem as Moslem,--did not Ganghiji write as a born satisfy and allay the discount of the Moslem who formed 85/ of the subject of the Nizam are Hindus, they had only resorted to unarmed Civil resistance to the intolerable religious, culture and political persecution with the help of their co-religionists outside the state : but did Ganghiji, the born democrat, advise the Nizam the too to abdicate and retire to Mecca? No, on the contrary he wrote in so many words that he was overwhelmingly concerned throughout the Civil Resistance Movement 'not to embarrass His Exalted Highness the Nizam.'

I can recount a hundred and one petty mischifs also which Congress of the 'National' brand were busy playing to defeat this Hindu Sanghatanist movement against the anti-Hindu policy of the Nizam Government, but that is not what I intend to deal with here. Suffice it to say that the Hindu Mahasasabha could secure the sympathy even of some English M.Ps. in England and persuade them to protest again the horrible oppression at the Aurangabad jail and during the Hyderabad riots the Hindus had to undergo—but no Congress Ministers in all the seven provinces touched the subject even with a pair of tongs, initiated not even a discussion in the Congress Minister could threaten to resign altogether in the case of the pettiest Rajkot affair.

The moral is plain and must be plainly told. So long as the Congress continues to hug to the 'Pseudo- National' ideology as it does today, its policy is bound to be anti-Hindu, is bound to betray Hindu interests, however just and legitimate they may be. Just think; if the Hindu Electorate had voted for the Hindu. Sanghatanists Representative and thus had Hindu Mahasabha Ministries in Bombay, Madras and others parts—could they have remained so callously indifferent to the oppression the Hindu had to undergo in Hyderabad ? What tremendous pressure they could have brought to bear on the Nizam Government in staying its hand from out-Herod!

It was essentially to emphasize this point that whenever the Hindus are oppressed as Hindus and especially at the hands of the Moslems the Congress simply will not raise a finger in their defense , that the Hindu Sanghatanist must take up the task of defending themselves on their own shoulders and if they mean to do so they can do it in spit of the Congress indifference or even opposition, that the Nizam Civil Resistance Movement was launched by the Hindu Sanghatanist leaders independently of the Congress under a Hindu flag. The struggle was a test case to begin with the prospective Pan-Hindu Movement and we Hindu Sanghatanist were not only Rajkoted at Hyderabad but on the contrary came out with flying colours out of this testing ordeal insamuch as we have recovered and actualized through this struggle our Racial and Culture homogeneity, our real National self which under a swoon of self-forgetfulness during the last hundred years or so was all but obliterated.

One word about the political Reforms announced by the Nizam Government and the undertaking it has given to grant the Hindus civil, cultural and religious liberties in consideration of which the Civil Resistance Movement was

SUSPENDED BY THE HINDU MAHASABHA in the spirit of responsive co-operations and accommodations for which H.E.H. the Nizam had graciously pleaded in his announcement. The Hindu Mahasabha thanks the Nizam Government for the general amnesty of all Hindu Civil Resisters. It was a step in the right direction. But since then the Nizam Government has not moved as quickly as it ought to have done in introducing the Reforms in themselves inadequate and halting in practical operation. The Mahasabha is extremely anxious to open out some way to peaceful constitutional progress and restored lasting amity between the Hindus and Moslems in that state and therefore, it begs to draw the pointed attention of the Nizam to the fact that any unreasonable delay in putting the Reforms in actual operation cannot but prove dangerous and give rise to discount which is perfectly avoidable if but the Nizam Government takes time by his forelock before it is too late. And the second thing that is most urgent is the fact that the Nizam Government should hold some of the fanatical local Moslem officials in leash who counting on an ultimate support form the Central Government are still harassing the Hindus every now and then.

If the local fanatical Moslem rabble and such officials are strictly dealt with by the Government in some cases, the Moslem zealots will soon come to their senses all over the state. I hope these warnings will be taken by the Nizam Government in the amicable spirit which prompts me in sounding them.

The Shiva Mandir Satyagraha at Delhi

The splendid and sustained struggle the Hindus have carried on at Delhi in connections with the Shiva Mandir affair deserves also an all India homage. It too sounds the same warning that the Congress does not and will not and cannot defend a Hindu cause against an anti-Hindu aggression. But in spite of it all the overwhelming suffering and sacrifice in men and money in connections with the Shiva Mandir at Delhi shall not go in vain if but only those Hindus who pleaded to safeguard Hindu interests and are not enslaved to the Congress ticket, are sent by the Hindus on a Hindu Sanghatanist ticket to represent them to the corporations. The Pan-Hindu spirit which this struggle has lit up will prove the real Shiva. On the site where stood the tiny mudhut which has been so highhandedly destroyed, I already see rising before my mind's eye a magnificent Temple of Shiva and thousand of pilgrims crowding to worship at it before a decade passes away. The successful resistance the Hindus offered in defense of their legitimate rights at Khamgaon, Mahad, Bhagalpur and several other places during this year are also full of significance and testify to the fact that the spirit of self-assertion is consolidating the Hindus under the Hindu Mahasabha's lead. But I must not lose myself in the labyrinths of detailed events any longer and address of outlining the fundamental basis and general policy and programme on which I wish we all concentrate our attention for at least a couple of years to come.

III

Some of the Basic principles and Tenets of the Hindu Movement

It is encouraging to note that thousands of those who were brought up from their early days under the influence of the Pseudo Nationalistic ideology current in the Congress camp and were consequently so thoroughly prejudiced against anything that was connected with Hindutva that they militated against the very word Hindu as something superstitious, out-of-date, unworthy of a progressive patriot to own, should now be evincing a genuine desire to know all about the Hindu Mahasabha, its policy and immediate programme. The case of no less a personality than Mr. Tairsee whose sad death all Bombay lamented only a couple of months ago can serve as a case in point. He was reputed to be one amongst the first ten citizens of Bombay, a Rationalist of Rationalist, one of the foremost Congressites. Yet after I had casually explained to him the Hindu Sanghatanist Ideology as expounded in my Nagpur speech, he publicly confessed that the Rationalism which made him shun the word Hindu or Hindu Sanghatan as a crass superstition was itself the crassest of superstitions. He not only joined our party but proudly accepted the Presidentship of the Bombay Provincial Hindu Sabha. Throughout my extensive tours I have come across thousands of the intellectual class who simply militated against the Hindu idea at its first mention, when cogently explained rubbed their eyes in a doubting mood at its second mention and half of them pressed for a closer acquaintance with it while the other half simply capitulated at its third mention. There has grown of late enormous curiosity throughout India to know something of the Hindu Mahasabha, its aims and as to what is its programme and this demand at times comes from foreign countries as well. That is the reason why I wish to devote this address mainly to enumerate categorically the leading principle and tenets on which the Hindu movement is based and to outline its general policy and some outsanding detailed of its immediate programme. It will serve as a cogent statement of our case and may be utilized as a basis for a manifesto in future to an organized Hindu party in the Legislature as well as a handy guide to our workers and propagandists in the press and platform. It may involve some repetition. But endless repetition of a truth as also of a falsehood is about the only means to cast the mentality of a whole people into a required mould. As long as falsehood holds the propagandistic field truth must speak out to silence it as many times as the former repeats a lie.

The following are some of the basic tenets and aspect of the Hindu movement.
a) Every person is a Hindu who regards and owns this Bharat Bhoomi, this land from the Indus to the Seas, as his Fatherland as well as his Holyland; --i.e. the land of the origin of his religion, the cradle of his Faith.

The followers therefore of Vaidicism, Sanatanism, the Brahma-samaj, the Devasamaj, the Prarthana samaj and such other religions of Indian origin are Hindu and constitute Hindudom, i.e., the Hindu people as a whole.

Consequently the so-called aboriginal or hill tribes also are Hindus: because India is their Fatherland as well as their Holyland of whatever forms religion or worship they follow.

This definition, therefore should be recognized by the Government and made the test of Hindutva in enumerating the population of Hindus in the Government census to come. The definition rendered in Sanskrit stands thus:--

॥ आसिंधुसिंधुपर्यंता यस्य भारतभूमिका ॥
॥ पितृभूः पुण्यभूयैश्चैव स वै हिंदुरितिस्मृतः ॥ १ ॥

b*) The word Hindu is not of a foreign origin nor it is connected with the advent of the Moslem in India,* as was erroneously suspected for a time under the Mischievous influence of some alien scribes. Our land and our people were at times called SaptaSindhus or Sindhu even by our vaidic Rishis. The following verse, for example, from the Rigweda itself will conclusively testify to this fact :-

॥ आ ऋृक्षादहंसोमुचदयो वार्यासप्त सिंधुषु ॥
॥ वधर्दासस्य तु विनृनं नीनमः ॥ २ ॥

-(Rigweda 6-8-24)

Thousands of year before Mohamed, the Moslem prophet was born, the ancient Babilonians knew us as ‘Sindhus’ and provinces on this side of the Indus has retained this ancient appellation of our land and people down to this day as ‘Sindhu Desh’ and its people as ‘Sindhus’ (Sindh). In our modern Prakrit the Sanskrit `S’ is often transformed into `H’ just as the word `Kesari’ in Sanskrit or `Krishna’ has been transformed into Hindu Prakrit as `Kehari’ and `Kanha’ even so the word `Sindhu’ has been transformed into modern Prakrits as `Hindu’ those who want to have this point exhaustively and conclusively treated may read my book ‘Hindutva.’

c)*Hinduism, Hindutva and Hindudom* :-- In expounding the ideology of the Hindu movement, it is absolutely necessary to have a correct grasp of the meaning attached to these three terms. From the word ‘Hindu’ has been coined the word ‘Hinduism’in English. It means the school or system of religions the Hindus follow. The second word ‘Hindutva’ is far more comprehensive and refers not only to the religious aspect of the Hindu people as the word ‘Hinduism’ does but comprehends even their cultural, linguistic, social and political aspect as well. It is more or less akin to ‘Hindu Polity’ and its nearly exact translation would be ‘Hinduness.’ The third word ‘Hindudom’ means the Hindu world, just as Islam denotes the Moslem world or Christiandom denotes the Christians world.

d) *We Hindus are a Nation by ourselves* :-- In my presidential speech at Nagpur I had, for the first time in the history of our recent politics, pointed out in bold relief that the whole Congress ideology was vitiated *ab initio* by its unwitted assumption that the territorial unity, a common habitat, was the only factor that constituted and ought to and must constitute a Nation. This conception of a Territorial Nationality has since then received a rude shock in Europe itself from which it was imported wholesale to India and

present War has justified my assertion by exploding the myth altogether. All Nations carved out to order on the Territorial design without any other common bond to mould each of them into a national being have gone to rack and ruin, tumbled down like a house cards. Poland and Czechoslovakia will ever serve as a stern warning against any such efforts to frame heterogeneous peoples into such hotch-potch Nations, based only on the shifting sands of the conception of Territorial Nationality, not cemented by any cultural, racial or historical affinities and consequently having no common will to incorporate themselves into a Nation. These treaty-Nations broke up at the first opportunity they got: this German part of Czechoslovakia and poles to Poland. The cultural, linguistic, historical and such other organic affinities proved stronger than the territorial one. Only those Nations have persisted in maintaining their National unity and identity during the last three to four centuries in Europe which had developed racial, linguistic, cultural and such other organic affinities in addition to their Territorial unity or be homogeneous National units—such as England, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal etc

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Judged by any and all of these which go severally and collectively to from such a homogenous and organic Nation, in India we Hindus are marked out as an abiding Nation by ourselves. Not only we own a common Fatherland, a Territorial unity, but what is scarely found anywhere else in the world we have a common holyland which is identified with our common Fatherland. This Bharat Bhumi, this Hindustan, India is both our `Pitrubhu' and `Punyabhu'. Our patriotism, therefore, is doubly sure. Then we have common affinities, cultural, religious, historical, linguistic and racial which through the process of countless centuries of association and assimilation moulded us into a homogeneous and organic Nation and above all induced a will to lead a corporate and common National Life. The Hindus are no treaty Nation—but an organic National Being.

One more pertinent point must be met as it often misleads our Congressite Hindu brethren in particular. The homogeneity that wields a people into a National differences, religious, racial or linguistic of sects and sections amongst themselves. It only means that they differ more from other people as a National unit than they differ amongst themselves. Even the most Unitarian Nations of today—say the British or the French cannot be free from any religious, linguistic, cultural, racial or other different sect or section or even some antipathies existing amongst themselves. National homogeneity connotes oneness of a people as a whole.

We Hindus, in spite of thousand and one different within our fold or bound by such religious, cultural, historical, racial, linguistic and other affinities in common as to stand out as a definitely homogeneous people as soon as we are placed in contrast with any other non-Hindu people—say the English or Japanese or even the Indian Moslem. That is the reason why today we the Hindu from Kashmere to Madras and Sindh to Assam will to be a Nation by ourselves—while the Indian Moslem are on the whole more inclined to identify themselves and their interest with Moslem outside Indian than Hindus who lived next door, like the Jews in Germany.

Some well-meaning but simple-minded Hindus amuse themselves with the thought and hope against hope that inasmuch as the majority of Indian Moslem also are in fact allied to us by race and language and in cases had gone over to the Moslem fold in

living memory of this very generation, they could easily be persuaded to acknowledge this homogenity and even blood relation with the Hindus and merge themselves into a common National Being if but we only remained them of these affinities and appeal to them in their name. These innocent souls are really to be pitied. As if the Moslem know of these affinities all but too well : the only differences to be taken into account being that while the Hindus love these affinities which bind the Hindu to a Hindu and to dwell on them with pride—the Moslem hate the very mention of them and are trying to eradicate the very memory of it all. Some of them fabricate histories and genealogies to connect their origin with Arabians or Turks; they are trying to carve out a separate language for themselves and graft it as best as they can on the Arabian stock; they are carrying on a campaign against the Hindu family names such as 'Tambe' and 'Modak' which in parts like the konkan convert-Moslems still bear and replace them by Arabian ones and are bent on widening the cleavage deeper and broader by removing every trace which may remind them of having once something in common with the Hindu stock. Their religious and theocratic traditions join hands in impressing upon their mind that Hindustan is not and cannot be a Dar-Ul-Islam, their country which they may love until and unless the Hindu—the kafars—are either converted to a man to Islam or are reduced to helotage paying the Zizia to some would-be Moslem Sovereignty over this land. The very word 'Hindustan' stinks in their nostrils. I am not referring to these items here in any spirit of either condemnation or justification. I am telling the simple fact which no Moslem can honestly contest that Islam as a whole wants on a deliberate design to assert itself in India as a Nation altogether heterogenous with the Hindu and having nothing in common with them. Consequently it ought to be clear even to these well-meaning Hindu simpletons that this refusal of the Indian Moslems to merge in a common National unit leaves the Hindus, negatively too, as a Nation by themselves.

e) Swarajya to the Hindus must mean only that 'Rajya' in which their 'Swatva' their 'Hindutva' can assert itself without being overlorded by any non-Hindu people, whether they be Indian Territorials or extra-territorials :--Some Englishmen are and may continue to be Territorially born Indians. Can, therefore, the overlordship of these Anglo-Indians be a 'Swarajya' to the Hindus? Aurangzeb or Tippu were hereditary Indians, nay were the sons of converted Hindu mothers. Did that mean that the rule of Aurangzeb or Tippu was a 'Swarajya' to the Hindus? No! Altogether they were territorially Indians they proved to be the worst enemies of Hindudom and therefore, a Shivaji a Gobindsingh, a Pratap or the Peshwas had to fight against the Moslems domination and established a real Hindu Swarajya.

Consequently, under the present circumstances too all that an Indian National State can mean is that the Moslem minority in India will have the right to be treated as equal citizens, enjoying equal protection and civic right in proportion to their population. The Hindu majority will not encroach on she legitimate right of any non-Hindu minority. But in no case can the Hindu majority resign its right as a majority it is entitled to exercise under any democratic and legitimate constitution. The Moslem minority in particular has not obliged the Hindus by remaining in minority and therefore, they must remain satisfied with the status they occupy and with the legitimate share of civic and political tight that is their proportionate due. It would be simply preposterous to endow

the Moslem minority with the right of exercising a practical veto on the legitimate rights and privileges of the majority and call it a 'Swarajya.' The Hindus do not want a change of masters, are not going to struggle and fight and die only to replaced an Edward by an Aurangzeb simply because the latter happens to born within Indian borders, but they want henceforth to be masters themselves in their own house, in their own land.

F) consequently, the name 'Hindustan' must continue to be the application of our Country :--Such other names as India, Hind, etc. being derived from the same sense—the land of the Hindus—a country which is the abode of the Hindu Nation. Aryavarta, Bharat-Bhumi and such other names are of course the ancient and the most cherished epithets of our Motherland and will continue to appeal to the cultured elite. In this insistence that the Motherland of the Hindu must be called but 'Hindustan,' no encroachment or humiliation is implied in connection with any of our non-Hindu countrymen. Our Parsee and Christians countrymen are already too akin to us culturally and are too patriotic and the Anglo-Indians too sensible to refuse to fall in line with us Hindus on so them are already inclined to look upon this molehill also as an insuperable mountain in their way to Hindu-Moslem unity. But they should remember that the Moslems do not dwell only in India nor are India Moslems the only heroic remnants of the faithful in Islam. China has crores of Moslems, Greece, Palestine and even Hungary and Poland have thousands of Moslems amongst their Nationals. But being there a minority, only a community, their existence in these countries has never been advanced as a ground to change the ancient names of these countries which indicate the abodes of those races whose over whelming majority own the land. The country of the poles continues to be Poland and of the Grecians as Greece. The Moslems there did not or dared not distort them but are quite content to distinguish themselves as Polish-Moslems or Grecians-Moslems or Chinese-Moslems when occasion arises. So also our Moslems countrymen may distinguish themselves Nationally or territorially whenever they want, as 'Hindusthanee-Moslems' without compromising in the least their separateness as a religious or cultural entity. Nay the Moslems have been calling them selves as 'Hindusthanis' ever since their advent in India, of their own accord.

But if in spite of it all some irrational Moslems sections amongst our countrymen object even to this names of our Country that is no reason why we should play cowards to our own conscience. We Hindu must not betray or break us the continuity of our Nation from the Sindhus in Rigvedic days to the Hindus of our own generation which is implied in 'Hindusthan' the accepted appellation of our Motherland. Just as the land of the Germans is Germany, of the English England, of the Turks Turkisthan, of the Afghans Afganisthan—even so we must have it indelibly impressed on the map of the earth for all times to come a 'Hindushan'—the land of the Hindus.

g) *The Pan-Hindu flag*: - The `*Kundalini KrupanaNkit*' Gerua Flag shall be the Flag of the Hindu Nation. With its OM, the Swastik and the Sword, it appeals to sentiments cherished by our race ever since the Vedic days. Those who like to realize the inner spirit and know the raison *d'etre* of its design and the symbols would do well to read the special tract I have written styled 'the Pan-Hindu Dhwaj.'

It must be emphasized in this connection that all those Hindu flags other than this which are current amongst the Hindus as the colours of the different constituents which go to form our Pan-Hindu brotherhood such as the Sanataanists, the Sikhs, the Jains, the Aryas, etc. will be respected by every Hindu as his own, inasmuch as they are but different manifestations of the common Pan-Hindu Spirit.

Nor should it be supposed that the Hindu Flag implies any inherent antagonism to the several colours of our non- Hindu countrymen. The Moslems are welcome to have their own religious colours to represent their own community. In short we shall respect any Flag which any section of our countrymen adopts whether religious or political, whether it is the Moslems League Flag or the Congress Tri-colours or the Red one, --so long as it continues to respect in return the Pan-Hindu Flag and does not antagonise it but continues as allied colours. But Hindudom as a whole will be represented by the Pan-Hindu Flag alone.

h)The Sanskrit shall be our *`Devbhasha'* our sacred language and the 'Sanskrit Nishtha' Hindi, the Hindi which is derived from Sanskrit and draws its nourishment from the latter, is our *`Rashtrabhasha'* our current National language :--Besides being the richest and the most cultured of the ancient language of the world, to us Hindus the Sanskrit is the holiest tongue of tongues. Our scriptures, history, philosophy and culture have their roots so deeply embeded in the Sanskrit literature that it forms veritably the brain of our Race. Mother of the majority of our mothertongues, she has suckled the rest of them at her breast. All Hindu languages current today whether derived from Sanskrit or grafted on to it can only grow and flourish on the sap of life they imbibe from the Sanskrit. The Sanskrit language, therefore, must ever be an indispensable constituent of the classical course for Hindu youths.

In adopting Hindi as the National tongue of Hindudom no humiliation or any invidious distinction is implied as regards other provincial tongues. We are all as attacked to our Provincial tongues as to Hindi and they will all grow and flourish in their respective spheres. In fact, some of them are today more progressive and richer in literature. But nevertheless, taken all in all, Hindi can serve the purpose of a National Pan-Hindu Language best. It must also be remembered that Hindi is not made a National Language to order. The fact is that long before either the English or even the Moslems stepped into India, Hindi in its general form had already come to occupy the position of a National tongue throughout Hindusthan. The Hindu pilgrim, the tradesman, the tourist, the soldier, the Pandit traveled up and down from Bengal to Sindh and Kashmere to Rameshwar by making himself understood from locality to locality through Hindi. Just as the Sanskrit was the National language of the Hindu intellectual world even so Hindi has been for at least a thousand years in the past the National Indian tongue of the Hindu people. Added to that and as consequence of that we find even today that it is understood and even spoken as a mother-tongue by a far larger number of people than is the case with any other Hindu language. Consequently, it must be made compulsory for every Hindu student through secondary school at any rate to learn Hindi as his Pan-Hindu National language without neglecting in the least his training in his provincial mother-tongue.

By Hindi we of course mean the pure ‘Sanskrit Nistha’ Hindi as we find it for example in the ‘Satyartha Prakash’ written by Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati. How simple and untainted with a single unnecessary foreign word is that Hindi and how expressive withal. It may be mentioned in passing that Swami Dayanandji was about the first Hindu leader who gave conscious and definite expression to the view that Hindi should be the Pan-Hindi National language of India. This ‘Sanskrit Nishtha’ Hindi has nothing to do with that hybrid, the so-called Hindusthani which is being hatched up by the Wardha scheme. It is nothing short of a linguistic monstrosity and must be ruthlessly suppressed. Not unnecessary alien words whether Arabian or English, from every Hindu tongue- whether provincial or dialectical. We are not against the English or any other language; nay we insist on the study of the English as an indispensable necessity and a profitable passport to world literature. But we must not allow the influx of alien words into our language without checking their pass and testing their necessity our Hindu brethren in Bengal are especially to be congratulated upon in this connection because the Bengali literature is admirably free any such unclean admixture of unnecessary alien words which cannot be said regarding our other Provincial tongues and literature.

i) *The Nogari shall be the National Script of Hindudom*: --Our Sanskrit alphabetical order is phonetically about the most perfect which the world has yet devised and almost all our current Indian script already follow it. The Nagari Script too follows this order. Like the Hindi language the Nagari Script too has already been current for centuries all over India amongst the Hindu literary circles for some two thousand years at any rate in the past and was even popularly nick-name as the ‘Shastri Lipi’ the script of our Hindu Scriptures. With a little touch here and there it could be reformed so as to render it as suitable to modern mechanical printing as the Roman script. Such a Reform movement was set on foot in Maharashtra about some forty years ago by Mr.Vaidya and others. An organized movement later on under my lead met with an amount of practical success and has already popularized it. I strongly recommend that as an immediate step to popularized Nagari as our National Script, all our Hindu papers in different provinces should begin to publish at least a couple of columns of their provincial languages in Nagari script. It is a matter of common knowledge that if Bengali or Gujarati is printed in Nagari it is more or less understood by readers in several others provinces. To have only one common language throughout Hindustan at a stroke is impracticable and unwise. But to have the Nagari script as the only common script throughout Hindudom is much more feasible. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that the different Hindu script current in our different provinces have a future of their own and may flourish side by side with the Nagari. All that is immediately done as indispensable in the common interest of Hindudom as a whole is that the Nagari Script must be made a compulsory subject along with the Hindi language in every school in the case of Hindu students.

It is interesting to remind you here how two prominent Congress Presidents proposed to solve this problem of a National tongue and a National Script. Pandit Nehru thinks, leaving even Maulana Abul Kalam Azad far behind who only proposes Hindustani which he assures us is tantamount to Urdu, --that the highly Arabianised Urdu of the Aligarh school or the Osmania University school is best fitted to be the National

Language of India including of course some twenty-eight crores of Hindus. While Desha Gaurav Subhash Babu improving upon the situation beat even Panditjis ingenuity hollow by proposing from the presidential chair of the India National Congress that Roman Script to be the National Script of India! How imminently practicable, to say the least! Your Basumati, Ananda Bazar Patrika and all Bengali papers to appear every day in new National style as *'tomari Pratima ghadibe Mandire Mandire'* and the Gita to begin with in this following attractive setting as--

'*Dharma Kshettre Kurukshettre sama-vetah yuyutsavah'* and so on and so on. It is true as Subhash Babu says that Kemal Pasha abolished the Arabian Script as unsuited to print and tooklots who want the Urdu Script, that is this very Arabians style, to thrust even on the Hindus as an up-to date National Script and has no connection with the Hindus. Kemal Pasha took to the Roman Script because the Turks had nothing better of their own to fall back upon. The Andamanees pick up Kauries and make a necklace of them,--but is that the reason why the Kuber also should do the same? We Hindus should rather call upon Arabia and Europe to adopt the Nagari Script and Hindi language; such a proposal should not sound very impracticable to such inveterate optimists at any rate who seriously advance it as a very practical proposal to make Urdu the National Language of the Marathas and to expect all our Arya Samaj Gurukuls to study the Vedas in Roman Script?

j) The Hindu Mahasabha is a National Organization of Hindudom: --It has come to my noticed that a very large section of the English educated Hindus hold back from joining the Hindu Mahasabha and political Circles in India and outside in general feel themselves totally unconcerned about it under the erroneous idea that it is an exclusively religious organization, --something like a Christian Mission. Nothing could be far from the truth. The Hindu Mahasabha is not a Hindu Mission. It leaves religious question regarding theism, monotheism, pantheism or even atheism to be discussed and determined by the different Hindu school of religious persuasions. It is not a Hindu-Dharma Mahasabha,--but a Hindu National Mahasabha. Consequently, by its very constitution it is debarred to associate itself exclusively as a partisan with any particular religious school or sect even within the Hindu fold. As a national Hindu body it will of course propagate and defend the national Hindu Church comprising each and all religion of Hindustani origin against any non-Hindu attack or encroachment. But the sphere of its activity is far more comprehensive than that of an exclusively religious body. The Hindu Mahasabha identifies itself with the National life of Hindudom in all its entirely, in all its social, economical, cultural and above all political aspect and is pledged to protect and promote all that contributes to the freedom, strength and glory of the Hindu Nation; and as an indispensable means to that end to attain *Purna Swarajya*, absolute political Independence of Hindusthan by all legitimate and proper means.

k) *The Hindu Mahasabha must continue its mission even after Hindusthan is politically free:* --Many a superficial critic seems to fancy that the Mahasabha was only contrived to serve as a make-weight, as a re-action checkmating the Moslem League or the anti-Hindu policy of the present leaders of the Congress and will be out court or cease automatically to function as soon as it is shorn of this spurious excuse to exist. But if the aims and object of the Mahasabha mean anything it is clear that it was not the outcome of any frothy effusion, any fussy agitation to remove a grievance here or oppose a seasonal party there. The fact is that every organism whether individual or social which is living

and deserves to survives throws out offensive and defensive organs as soon as it is brought to face adversely changing environments. The Hindu Nation too as soon as it recovered and freed itself from the suffocating grip of the pseudo Nationalistic ideology of the Congress brand developed a new organ to battle in the struggle for existence under the change conditions of modern age. This was the Hindu Mahasabha. It grew up of a fundamental necessity of National life and not of any ephemeral incident. The constructive side of its aims and objects make it amply clear that its mission is as abiding as the life of the Nation itself. But that apart, even the day-to-day necessity of adapting its policy to the ever-changing political currents makes it incumbent on Hindudom to have an exclusively Hindu organizations independent of any moral or intellectual servility or subservience to any non-Hindu or jointly representative instruction, to guard Hindu interest and save them from being jeopardized. It is not so only under the present political subjection of Hindusthan but it will be all the more necessary to have some such exclusively Hindu organization, some such Hindu Mahasabha in substance whether it is identical with this present organization or otherwise to serve as a watch-tower at the gates of Hindudom for at least a couple of centuries to come, even after Hindusthan is partially or wholly free and a National parliament controls its political destiny.

Because, unless something altogether cataclysmic in nature upsets the whole political order of things in the world which practical politics cannot envisage today, all that can be reasonably expected in the immediate future is that we Hindus may prevail over England and compel her to recognize India as a self-governing unit with the status contemplated in the Westminster statute. Now a National Parliament in such a self-governing India can only reflect the electorate as it is, the Hindus and the Moslems as we find them, their relations a bit bettered, perhaps a bit worsened. No realist can be blind to the probability that the extraterritorial designs and the secret urge goading on the Moslems to transform India into a Moslem State may at any time confront the Hindusthani State even under self-governing either with a Civil War or treacherous overtures to alien invaders by the Moslems. Then again there is every likelihood that there will ever continue at least for a century to come a danger of fanatical riots, the scramble for services, Legislative seats, weightages out of proportion to their population on the part of the Moslem Minority and consequently a constant danger threatening internal peace. To checkmate this probability which if we are wise we must always keep in view even after Hindusthan attains the status of a self-governing country, a powerful and exclusive organization of Hindudom like the Hindu Mahasabha will always prove a sure and devoted source of strength, a reserve force for the Hindus to fall back upon to voice their grievances more effectively than the joint Parliament can do, to scent danger ahead. To warn the Hindus in time against it and to fight out if needs be any treacherous design to which the joint State itself may unwittingly fall a victim.

The History of Canada, of Palestine, of the movement of the young Turks will show you that in every State where two or more such conflicting elements as the Hindus and Moslems in India happen to exist as constituents, the wiser of them has to keep its exclusive organization intact, strong and watchful to defeat any attempt at betrayal or capture of the National state by the opposite party; especially so if that party has extra-territorial affinities, religious or cultural, with alien bordering States. This tussle between such constituents of such a State must continue till slowly if ever they all learn to get themselves merged, by developing a spirit of corporate patriotism, into a consolidated

Nation. If the Hindu take this realistic truth to heart they will try their utmost to consolidate and strengthen the pan-Hindu organization which is already gathering force and has stuck its roots deep in the Hindu soil. The nearer you are to Swarajya the more indispensable grows the necessity of a strong and consolidated Pan-Hindu organization the nearer it takes you real Swa-Rajya.

IV

The Practical Policy of the Hindu Movement

I have so far dealt with some the basic principles and tenets and set out the National and Political ideals of the Hindu Sanghatan movement as I perceive them. But the very fact that we have still to frame, emphasize and propagate the very ideals and ideology of the Hindu movement added to the fact that they imply an entire re-orientation of the public activities of the Hindu people so as to revolutionise the conception of the Indian State and its formation as we find it today, shows how we have hardly taken a step ahead and how strenuous and sustained a struggle we have yet to undergo before we are able to realize the goal, the creation of an independent Hindusthan as we defined it. Once the ideal is fixed, it is this struggle that matters most. And we must therefore, chalk out as urgently as possible, the lines on which our struggle can be carried on with the greatest effect and if possible with the least resistance.

It must be noted also that although the ideal remains fixed the struggle to realize it can scarcely be on a straight line. We have now to confront, now to compromise; now to fight on now to fall back and keep marking time. At least we shall have to ally ourselves on a given point with one of our opponents and then to oppose the former ally. This very inconsistency in detail resorted to in a long-drawn and life and death struggle to reach a goal is consistent enough if but it leads us on the whole irresistibly onward and onward to the great ideal we aim to realize. The policy I am going to outline should also be viewed from this tactical perspective. It is only related to our present circumstances and should not be taken as final. As our movement goes on gathering strength we may soon arrive at a point when it may march on with the irresistible strides of a giant and may grow powerful enough to demand and dictate things with a reckless heroism, which the puny beginning today can hardly conceive or dare to express.

I should also make it clear that in outlining this practical policy I am only expressing my personal views. They cannot bind the Hindu Mahasabha unless they are sanctioned by its corporate resolutions.

a) Our first and foremost aim in our political activities must always be to guard the integrity of Hindusthan intact. Hindusthan to us does not only mean the so-called British India but comprises even those parts which are under the French and the Portuguese possession, Gomantak and Pondicherry are as integral parts of our Motherland as Maharashtra or Bengal. From the Indus to the Himalayas, from the Himalayas to Tibet, from Tibet to Burma and from Burma to the Southern and Western seas run the lines of the boundaries of our Land. The whole territory including Kashmere and Nepal, Gomantak, Pondicherry and other French possessions constitutes our National and territorial unit and must be consolidated in a free and centralized State. It must ever remain undivided and indivisible. Any attempt to divide this Territorial and National

unity of Hindusthan so as for example, to break it up into Hindu and Moslem zones, must be opposed tooth and nail and chastised as an of treason and treachery.

b) Towards our neighbouring State of Burma and Tibet on the Eastern and North-Eastern frontiers our policy will always be, so far as possible, of wholehearted friendship and if they choose, even of a political alliance. They are our co-religionists and our political interests too are not inherently antagonistic. Nay, we will only find, in general, our mutual political strength augmented if we continue to be political allies.

c) But towards those Moslem State and tribes which border our North-western frontier our policy cannot but be a guarded one. Their tendency for centuries in the past had been fanatically inimical towards the Hindus and is likely to continue to be so far at least a century to come. The Hindu Sanghatanist party must always see this Frontier is garrisoned with overwhelming Hindu troops and is never entrusted to Moslem ones. We will always be ready to establish friendly contact with those bordering States and shall give no cause for unnecessary strife but should keep our forces there always in a state of war and vigilant to resist any sudden aggressive eruption on the part of those Moslem tribes or any threatened invasion through the passes by any anti-Hindu alien army.

d) To the Independent Hindu Kingdom of Nepal all Hindudom feels itself most loyally attached and would ever strive to strain every nerve in defending its honour and integrity. It is the only part of our Motherland which continues down to this day as a Dharma Kshetter unsullied by the humiliating shadow of an alien non-Hindu Flag. The independence of the Hindu Kingdom of Nepal, the home of a heroic Hindu Race, constitutes at once the pride and the center of Hindu hope. Every atom of strength added to Nepal elevates and strengthens the prestige and the position of Hindudom all round. On the other hand anything that weakens or humiliates Hindudom in any other part of Hindusthan must weaken the strength of the Nepal in the long run. The danger of the Moslem upheaval on the North-Western Frontier, for example, cannot but be a standing menace to the independence of the Hindu Kingdom in Nepal too. If Hindu history has not endowed us even with this much foresight then it must be said that all the lessons which the invasions of Gaznis and Ghoris were meant by destiny to teach us are lost on us.

Nevertheless, it will be foolish on our part to do anything to drag Nepal into the muddled and slogan-ridden politics which disfigures the British Indian territory. The politics of a subject race can be no guide to the exigencies of an Independent Kingdom situated as Nepal. I, therefore, feel no hesitation whatsoever in justifying the present policy of the Nepal Government to maintain friendly relations with the British Government and to continue an informal Political alliance with the British with a view to guard against any other non-Hindu aggression on India. Consequently, it is also a very wise policy on the part of Nepal to supply as many Nepalee recruits to the Indian forces as it is possible to do in conformity with its own security and strength. The political complications in Europe and the Far East are almost sure to persuade the British Government too to depend more and more on Nepal's friendship and military help to secure Indian defence.

In this connection it must be emphasized that the British Government should also restore some of those territories on the borders of Nepal which the British had wrested from her in the past, back to the King of Nepal. Such a step will cement the friendship between the two Nations as nothing else can do.

Nepal has doubtless a great future before her if but she takes time by the forclock and has the Prophetic vision which a rising Nation must necessarily possess. She must bring up her military strength to an up-to-date European efficiency and must be able to defend herself not only on land but against any aerial aggression too by equipping herself with a powerful aerial force. Her strength being the strength of an ally, the British Government too is not likely under the present circumstances to hamper her in this attempt with any feeling of uneasiness but would rather wish her to hasten on this project. The influence which Nepal is likely to exercise on Indian politics in near future will be better pointed out in the words of Mr. Perceval Langdon the well-known author of the voluminous work on Nepal.

Says Mr. Langdon, 'it invests Nepal with an importance which it would be foolish to overlook. Englishmen should attempt to understand a little more thoroughly the high position which Nepal holds in the general Southern Asiatic balance and the great and growing importance that she will possess in the future in the solution of the problems which beset the present state of India. Nepal stands today on the threshold of a new light. Her future calls her in one direction and one only. In all the varied theatres of Indian politics there is nothing which surpasses in interest the ultimate destiny of Nepal. Inevitably she will become of greater and greater importance if we persist in our present policy of lessening British influence in India. It is not impossible that Nepal may even be called upon to control the destiny of India itself'

e)the National Constitution of Hindusthan :--The Hindu Sanghatanist Party aims to base the future constitute of Hindustan on the broad principal that all citizens should have equal rights and obligations irrespective of caste or creed, race or religion,--provided they avow and owe an exclusive and devoted allegiance to the Hindusthani State. The fundamental rights of liberty of speech, liberty of conscience, of worship, of association etc. will be enjoyed by all citizens alike. Whatever restrictions will be imposed on them in the interest of the public peace and order of National emergency will not be based on any religious or racial considerations alone but on common National grounds.

No attitudes can be more National even in the territorial sense than this and it is this attitude in general which is expressed in substance by the curt formula 'one man one vote.' This will make it clear that conception of a Hindu Nation, is in no way inconsistent with the development of a common Indian Nation, a united Hindusthani State in which all sects and section, races and religions, castes and creeds, Hindus, Moslems, Christians, Anglo-Indians, etc. could be harmoniously welded together into a political State on terms of perfect equality.

This attitude which the Hindu Mahasabha takes up with regard to the National Hindusthani Constitution is in fact more definitely and expressively National than either the League or even the Congress which calls itself Indian National has as yet dared to take up uncompromisingly and yet it is the Hindu Mahasabha and the conception of the Hindu Nation which is tabood by the Congress and the League as most dangerously anti-National and uncompromisingly communal! The fact is that the National Congress itself is not only communal in its legitimate sense but perversely communal : inasmuch a it recognizes a majority and a minority, the Hindus and the Moslems and on the top of it all forces the majority to forgo its just share in the franchise, in the public services, in cultural rights and offers them to a minority based on religion to buy its patriotism and attachment to the common National State. On the other hand by asking for the Moslems as a religious entity wanton advantages over and above what they are entitled to on a National basis at the cost of the Hindus at the point of a dagger, with a threat to secede and join hands with an alien power, the Moslem League takes up a position which is anti-National to the point of treachery. In demanding three votes for one Moslem, the Moslem League is outrageously communal: while in calling upon the Hindus to yield to this demand and acceed to the proposal of one vote for three Hindus, the congress is cowardly communal! And yet it is precisely these two bodies, the Pesudo-National Congress and the confessed anti-National League which have the temerity to accuse the Hindu Sanghatanist party as communalistic and anti-National simply because they are not ready to betray their birth-right for a mess of pottage ,--to play the second fiddle to the Moslems or care for a worthless certificate from the Congressites of being 'Nationalistic!!'

(f) *The right of non-Hindu Minorities*: --When once the Hindu Mahasabha not only accepts but maintains the principles of 'one man one vote' and the public services to go by merit alone added to the fundamental rights and obligations to be shared by all citizens alike irrespective of any distinction of race or religion…any further mention of minority rights is on principle not only unnecessary but self-contradictory, because it again introduced a consciousness of majority and minority on communal basis. But as practical politics require it and as the Hindu Sanghatanists want to relive our non-Hindu countrymen of even a ghost of suspicion, we are prepared to emphasize that the legitimate rights of minorities with regard to their religion, culture and language will be expressly guaranteed : on one condition only that the equal rights of the majority also must not in any case be encroached upon or abrogated. Every minority may have separate school to train up their children in their own tongue, their own religious or cultural institutions and can receive Government help also for these,--but always in proportion to the taxes they pay into the common Exchequer. The same principle must of course hold good in case of the majority too.

Over and above this, in case the constitution is not based on joint electorates and on the unalloyed National principle of one man one vote but is based on the communal basis, then those minorities who wish to have separate electorate or reserve seats will be allowed to have them,--but always in proportion to their to population and provided that it does not deprive the majority also of an equal right in proportion to its population too.

I have that our Christian, Parsee, the Jewish and other minorities, --except the Moslems, will be Perfectly satisfied with the constitution based on these principle as broadly outlined above. Because the Christians, the Jews and most eminently the Parsees are too allied to us in culture and too patriotic, while the Anglo-Indians too sensible, to fail to see that no constitution if it has to keep the integrity, sovereignty and strength of the National Sate safe, can go any further and that it is all that is really required to safeguard any genuine special interests of the minorities as distinguished from those of the majority. Only that minority will insist to have still more and yet more to the last pound of flesh which in fact cherishes secret designs to disintegrate the State, to create a State within a State or altogether to subvert the National State and hold all others under its subjection. Fortunately no section of our countrymen belonging to the non-Moslem minorities mentioned above harbours this treasonable design. It is only with regard to the Moslem minority that this cannot be asserted with confidence; and therefore; I shall deal separately with it later on. In this connection a point of far-reaching importance and one which has a very serious bearing on the political and religious and cultural interest of the Christian, Jew and Parsee countrymen of ours in particular, must be mentioned in bold relief. The anti-National and aggressive design on the part of the Moslem minority constitute a danger to all non-Moslem Indians in India and not only to the Hindus alone. It is too clear a point to require any further elucidation here. It is the anti-National attitude of the Moslem minority alone which is giving a handle to the British Government to obstruct further political and constitutional progress in Hindusthan. But in order to camouflage their own special responsibility for this guilt the Moslems always try to drag in other minorities also in support of their attitude and want the world to believe that all non-Hindu minorities are as determinedly uncompromisingly in the anti-National demands advanced by the Moslem League. The League always want to pose as the champions of all non-Hindu minorities. But the fact is that the relations of Christians, Jews and above all our Parsee brethren have been for centuries most cordial with us Hindus and these non-Moslem minorities have never advanced any anti-National or unreasonable claims or had never indulged in political hooliganism or fanatical riots as a silly means to impress their political importance. My earnest suggestion therefore, to our Christians, Jews, Parsees and such other non-Moslem minorities would be that they should openly and definitely disown the League designs, protest against being bracketed with the Moslems under the misleading and mischievous common terms ‘minorities’, call upon the Moslem League not to speak in general on their behalf and above all should definitely declare through their respective political organizations that they are perfectly willing and contented to form a common National front with the Hindus under the conditions referred to above. If, but the Christians, the Jews, the Parsees and all non-Moslem minorities and the Hindus present a common understanding and a common front at any would-be Round Table Conference or Constitutional Assembly the Moslems will find themselves singularly isolated and will be forced to cease to speak in the name of ‘the minority problem’ but will have to shoulder by themselves the responsibility of their anti-National and fanatical claims. These supercilious pretensions of Moslems of being a chosen minority and bluff claiming political importance and historical tradition investing them with an incomparable superiority to the Indian people in general, constitutes a challenge and an insult to our Christian, Jews, Parsees and other countrymen too.

g) the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress:--I have no space here nor the inclination to frame a charge-sheet against the Congress, enumerating the grievous errors it has been committing under the dictatorship of Gandhiji and the leaders of his persuasion ever since the Khilafat agitation; setting at naught even the protests of such eminent Hindu Patriots as Lokamanya Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Swami Shradhanand and others, which errors have weakened and humiliated Hindudom at every step. I have no inclination to do so or condemn them even in such harsh terms as the gravity of the errors in fact demand. Because I know that some of them have rendered eminent services to our motherland and been ungrateful to a degree in failing to appreciate the patriotic sacrifice and service the Hindu Mahasabha have rendered equally with and in cases even far more intensely than the Congressites in the fight for Freedom of Hindusthan, yet let every Hindu Sanghatanist be just and generous in brotherly appreciation of patriotic motive of those of the Congressites who had been highly selfless and sacrificing. It is not their motive but their judgement and in a couple of cases a monomaniac incompetence which were responsible for the erroneous policy they persisted in which has done incalculable harm to the Hindu cause and which if not checkmated is likely to jeopardizes not only the legitimate interests of Hindudom far more dangerously than in the past but even the vital interests of the 'Indian Nation' too as the Congress itself understands it and loves so well.

It is not, therefore, to rake up fruitlessly the sad memories of the most grievous errors which the Congressites committed in their indentification with the Khilafat agitation but to warn against the imminent dangers of a similar type that I must refers to a few facts regarding the attitude of the Gandhist politicians in that ill-fated movement. In spite of the warning of the Great Tilak, Gandhiji committed the Congress to the purely communal, religious and himself went to the length of insisting on the point that the question of Swaraj itself should be subordinated to the Khilafat issue;--nay, he said it was the religious duty of the Hindus to help the Kalipha! And yet the same Congress leaders forbade the Congress even to touch the Nizam Civil Resistance movement as a thing unclean and denounced it as communal because it demanded the religious and cultural rights of Hindus! Not only that but true to their words these Congressites Hindu leaders did not subordinate Swaraj to the Khalifat question only in its figurative aspect but were hand in glove with the Moslem leaders who instigated Amir Amanullakhan to invade India as he actually did. We have the word of Swami Shradhanandji for it. The Swamiji publicly wrote to that effect in protest in his 'Liberator' and produced some documentary evidence and which Maulana Mahomad Ali had shown to Swamiji. In his own young India Gandhiji admitted that the Afghans if successful were sure to establish their kingdom in India (see Young India 1-6-21)—and yet these Congressite Hindu leaders did not dissociate themselves from the Moslem leader in their open and secret activities to egg on the Afghan Invasion, but on the country promised support to this treacherous move. Gandhiji writes in his Young India (4-5-21) 'I would in a sense certainly assist the Amir of Afghanisthan if he waged war against the British Government—by openly telling my countrymen that it would be crime to help the Government, etc.' If you like to see the length these gentlemen had gone in this affair you may read a useful tract recently published by Mr. Karandikar of Poona which is full of original extracts from the speeches and writing of the then Congress leaders and Gandhiji's Young India. What is most surprising to note is the fact these Hindu leaders outbid even the Ali Brothers, the

'National' Maulana Azad and other Moslem leaders in maintaining that if the Amir succeeded in capturing Delhi, we would have won Swaraj! —for, they definitely stated that the rule of the Afghans was in itself a Swaraj,—'we Hindu Moslems are one,-- an indivisible Nation.' I vividly remember conversation I had with these Hindu leaders of Ganghiji persuasion when they used to meet me then in prison. How expectantly they waited for the invading armies of the Amir to capture Lahore! Well, after all the Khilaphat was guillotined by the Turks themselves and the Amir Amanullah instead of being an Emperor at Delhi was dethroned by a Bachha Saku in Kabul itself; and all that India reaped from the Khilaphat agitation was the intensified Pan-Islamic fanaticism roused by that movement amongst the Indian Moslems all over India, aided and abetted by the Hindus themselves who paid dearly for this their folly there and then in Malabar, Kahat, Pujab,Bengal—and will have yet to pay unless they learn to react.

While the Khilaphat was on his brain, in a reply he gave to the correspondent of the Daily Express, London, Gandhiji disclosed his plan of converting the Afghans from fanatical turbulance into a peaceful citizenship thus, 'I would introduced the spinning wheel amongst the Afghan tribes also and then that will prevent them from attacking Indian territory. I feel the tribesmen are in their own way God-fearing people.'

Yes, ' in their own way' that is the trouble. For, we can clearly discern their own way of God fearingness in the ghastly light of Hindu habitations set on fire throughout the frontier line from Sindh to Kashmere. Only Hindus looted, only Hindus killed, only Hindu women and men kidnapped!! Is not the Fakir of Ipi also a God-fearing men in his own way! And the spinning wheel to persuade them from attacking India! How many centuries after, sir? And what are we Hindus to do in the meanwhile? To garrison the frontiers with hosts of Hindu damsels with the charm of the spinning wheel in their hands—as Gandhiji has suggested quite seriously at one of the sittings of the Round Table Conference?

Well, gentlemen, I am not referring to these few details in any light mood. I want you to realize the mentality and the ideology of these Hindu leaders who still happen to be at the helm of the Congress. Neither Gandhiji or Pandit Nehru, nay, not even Subhash Babu or Mr. Ray, who, although they do not contribute in any way to some of the above vagaries of the Gandhist school, are still votaries—I call it victims—of the school of thought which says in so many words, 'Give to the Moslems so much that they could not wish to ask for anything more.' They may sincerely believe that to be the crux of Nationalism and wisdom. But do you, who do not wish to see Hindudom humiliated and browbeaten into servility, believe it to be so? If not, are you going to authorize these very gentlemen by electing and returning them as representatives who can speak in the name of the Hindus once again at any Round Table Conference to come, to enter into any new pact with the Moslems on behalf of the Hindus or entrust the destiny of the North-western Frontiers into the hands of the Khan brothers who are the Congress Plenipotentiaries and Gandhiji's certified lieutenants there—as once the Ali brothers were? I call upon those thousands of Hindus also who have not ceased to be Hindus but who still follow the Congress with a blind habitual trait to ponder as seriously as possible on these questions.

After the Khilaphat, came the Blank cheques; then the Communal Award or Decision,--lapses of memory' make the Congress leaders call it sometimes this way something that, but which always remains definitely unrejected and in fact accepted and worked out by them. Then rushed in the flood of circulars issued by Congress ministers in all provinces, Mr. Pant, for example, assuring the Moslems, amongst other things. I quote his words, 'At Barabanki the Congress Government stopped Hindus from doing Arti in their own temples and blowing conch-shells during the whole period of Moharrum and at several places during the Holi, the Hindus were prevented from sprinkling colour-water even on Hindus amongst themselves. At Jaunpur the District Magistrate was attacked by Moslems but the accused were released on the recommendation of the Secretary of the Moslem league. The Congress Government has given representation to the Moslems out of all proportion to their numerical strength which came up to only 14%. But out of four Collectors appointment by the Congress Government three were Moslems and out of 13 Deputy Collectors eight were Moslems'. So on and so on. Every Hindu should read this whole circular issued by the U.P. Congress Government. It is a masterpiece of self-condemnation. It was secretly circulated only amongst the Moslems, but the Hindu-Sabhaits, those cursed 'communalist' traitors got hold of some copies of this our 'National' confession and broadcasted its reprints. Space forbids me from quoting from other circulars issued by Provincial Congress Government in C.P., Madras, etc. all fashioned after the same pattern pleading in substance before the Tribunal of the Moslem League: 'Sir, we have deprived the Hindus everywhere of what is due to them and given Moslems overwhelmingly more than was due, oppressed the Hindus as best as we could wherever the Moslems were pleased to demand it: so let the League be pleased, therefore, sir to certify that the Congress Ministries were truly impartial and perfectly National!!!'

And the Moslem League has certified at last by observing the Day of Deliverance from the Congress Tyranny under which the Moslems groaned for the past two long enduring years. In a way it was a tyranny : for in all those provincial where the Moslems were only 7 to 12% in numerical strength the Congress gave them post in the stingy proportion of 40 to 75% only in the Educational, police and other Administrative departments where they ought to have got cent per cent in consideration of their 'historical importance', for their being in direct communal descendants of the Moghul Emperors! Has not even Lord Zetland referred to the warlike qualities of the Moslems only this month, and reminded the Congressite Hindus that the Moslem Emperors ruled over India for a time, implying thereby that the Moslems were, therefore, some superior being to the Hindus! It was fortunate that His Lordship was never sent in his early youth to any primary Maratha school. Otherwise he would have been deprived of the advantage of that argument by a little more knowledge of the fate of that Moslem Empire, how the avenging hosts of Hindus had beaten to a chip the forces of these 'Warlike Moslem' in a hundred battlefield, smashed to pieces this self-same Moghul Empire, rearing up an Independent Hindu Empire on the ashes of Moslem pride and power and held the Moghul the Emperors as prisoners and pensioners in their hands.

But it is no use on the part of our Congress friends to fulminate against this latest move of the Moslem League. The Deliverance Day of today is but the inevitable logical consequence of the Khilaphat Day so gaily observed by the Congress yesterday. It is you who have initiated the Moslems into the belief that the more they demand the more you yield, the more they frown the more you placate, the more they pocket the more you offer, the more thankless they grow the more afflicted you are with craving for their thanks. Did you not offer them blank cheques? Why then get startled, now that they begin to fill them up with whatever ransom they are pleased to demand! Dr. Munje, Bhai Paramanand and other leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha protested against the Khilaphat policy, against your blank cheques, against your meaningless 'neither accept nor communalists, looked down even upon Shivaji and Pratap as misguided Patriots, because they conquered by the Sword and you gave yourself out as new messiahs who have come to conquer by love alone, as world guides in direct communications with the inner voice. And now how pitiable it is to find you so sorely afflicted for want of guidance for yourselves to find out a way to appease and win over by love alone a single individual, the President of the League, that you should stand imploring at the gates of all the British Governors and the Viceroys to lend you a helping hand.

Then again, whenever it happened that some British Authorities or leaders referred to the policy of the Hindu Mahasabha on a point here or there with a tinge of appreciation our Congress Nationalist used to exclaim in righteous indignation, 'there! what more proof is required to expose the anti-National guilt of these Hindu Mahasabhaite communalists than the fact that the British people should appreciated their policy on this or that point. And now there is a regular scramble amongst these Nationalist Congress leaders to and flourish in the face of the world certificates of appreciation from the British Governors and the Viceroys to prove that the Congress Ministries were after all not so bad had served under the British Government to its satisfaction. Moreover, it is also very funny to observe that those very Congress leaders who blamed the Hindu Sanghatanist whenever they claimed a legitimate protection from the British Government against the Moslem outrages on the Frontier or in Malabar or in Bengal, should now be vying with each other in calling upon Governors and the Viceroy to arbitrate as the best judges and save the Congress prestige by declaring it not guilty in the very serious case framed against them by the Moslem League. Is it not now anti-National to appeal to settle our internal differences which we may have with 'our Moslem countrymen?'

It is also instructive and therefore, necessary to point out here that this theory of 'the third party' also constituted a Congress superstition which was responsible for so many of its errors. They always used to indulged in any anti-national, ulterior, anti-Hindu designs. The Moslems—including Messrs. Jinnah, Huq, and Hayat Khan,--were very simple-minded folk incapable of any political subterfuges and as devotees of Islam—peace and goodwill, had no aggressive political aims of their own against the Hindus. Nay, even the Frontier, tribes, the 'brave brothers. Moplas,' the Moslem populations in Bengal or Sindh who indulge in such horrible outrages against Hindus have no taste for it all, nursed within themselves—but were almost compelled to rise and revolt against the Hindus by 'the third party' the Britishers. When the British did not step in we Hindus and

Moslems lived together in perfect amity and brotherly concord and Hindu-Moslem riots was a thing simply unheard of.

Thousands of Congressite Hindus are observe to have been duped in to this silliest of political superstitions. As if Mahamad Kasim, Gazanis, by this third party, to invade and lay waste Hindu India with a mad fanatical fury. As if the history of the last ten centuries of perpetual war between the Hindus and Moslems was an interpolation and a myth. As if the Alis or Mr. Jinnah or Sir Shikandar were mere school children to spoiled with the offer of sugar pills by the British vagabonds in the class and persuaded to throw stones at the house of their neighbours. They say, 'before the British came, Hindu-Moslem riots were a thing unheard of.' Yes, but because instead of riots Hindu-Moslems wars was the order of the day. But supposing for a while what the Gandhists maintain that it is this third party, the British, who are solely responsible for hypnotizing, Moslems into anti-Hindu and anti-National tendencies, how is it that Gandhiji and his Congressite Lieutenants are invoking the very 'third party'—the British Governors and the viceroys to act as arbitrators, to judge whether the Congress was really guilty of the accusations leveled by the Moslem League against it? Is the leading a better the best person to arbitrate? To request him whom you accuse as the leading instigator to investigate into the crime? If the Congress superstition was true then the British are sure to adjudge the Award in a way to intensify the ill-will and distrust between the Congressite and the League so as to undermine yet further any chances of Hindu-Moslem understanding and concord. So then either your third party theory was wrong and superstitious or you have obviously bungled in approaching the very mischief-making third party to arbitrate.

The simple fact which the Congressite Hindus would do well to take a note of even now and which would spare them from a series of such inconsistent and bungling steps is that the Moslem religion, theocratic traditions and history all imbue them with inherent ambition of Islamic political sovereignty. The British policy at times when it suits British interest does of course act as a mach—but the explosive magazine is genuinely Moslem. IT COULD BE HELD IN CHECK, but woe to him who overlooks its existence and dupes himself into the belief that the match itself was the magazine. If not the British-make, any other match may serve the same purpose. Nay, spontaneous combustion is also its peculiar characteristic. Secondly, the Moslems are practical politicians to a fault. So they, in general, yield to and ally instinctively with the stronger, even if he be their worse opponent,--and continue to bully the weaker. Has not England reduced them to a subject race in India and elsewhere? But today England is the stronger of the two. They will fawn on England and continue to aggrandize against the Hindus. If tomorrow the Hindus grow stronger they will be yielding to Hindus too and behave as brothers as they did in Maharashtra and Punjab in the days of the Peshwas or Ranjit Singh. That is why 'Hindu-Moslem riots were a thing unheard of in days gone by' to quote the Congressite Slogan.

The best way to counteract the League's Days of Deliverance is, for the Congress to observe the Day of Rectification

In all sincerity I request my Congressite brother that instead of fulminating against the move of the League or what is more likely especially in the case of the Gandhist group instead of being yet more browbeaten, the best way would be to take it as an effective eye-opener and arrest their steps once for all on the dangerous path they were treading. They should simply refuse to have any further dealing with Moslems as Moslems. Let the Indian National Congress rectify that fundamental mistake and be once more the real Indian National Congress as it claims to be. Let it be absolutely consistent with its own ideal of a territorial Nationalism, and begin with a clean slate. Let it proclaim once for all that it stands by these principles alone; Firstly it recognizes no Moslem as a Moslem, or Christian as a Christian, or Hindu as a Hindu; but look upon them all and deal with them all as Indians only; and; therefore, will have nothing to do with any special, communal, religious or racial interest as apart from the fundamental interest guaranteed to all citizens alike. secondly, it does not acknowledge any other constitutional principle with regard to electorates than the rule 'one man one vote' and public services to go by merit alone. Only one alternative it may condescend to subscriber in view of the peculiar situation in India to the effect that if communal representation is to be resorted to at all then it must strictly be in relation to the numerical strength of the constituents and in the public services too that relation may be observed— but only in so far as it is consistent with merit.

Thirdly, and above all, so long as such a National and just constitution could not be had, let the Congress resist the temptation of participating in any election whatsoever under a constitution which is deliberately meant to divide the integrity of the Indian people and is not only used on communal divisions but is most unjustly harmful to the majority community and constitute a standing instigation to the Moslem minority to act against the Nation as a whole as the present constitution aims to do. So long as there are separate electorates the Moslems and the general, which in fact means the Hindu one, then let the Moslems League and the Hindu Mahasabha participate in election and let the Congress stand supremely aloof as a truly Indian National body which can never condescend to identify itself with any particular communal electorate.

If but the Congress takes courage in both hands, rectifies its past anti-Hindu and anti-National attitude and takes up the stand I have suggested above, the prestige of the Congress as a truly National organization will immediately be the enhanced. In that case it will regain in general the whole-hearted confidence of the Hindu Mahassabha at any rate.

But it can on no account continue to play the double-faced game of getting elected on behalf of the Hindu electorate as Hindus and betray the legitimate interests of the Hindus as Nationalist. It can no longer hunt with the hound and run with the hare. Otherwise the Moslems are bound to continue and rightly so to look upon it as a Hindu body while the Hindus will look upon it and rightly too as a pseudo-Nationalistic nuisance dangerous to the Hindu cause as well as the Indian National one.

May I hope that the Congress will open its eyes? If does even now it not yet too late! As my friend Mr. Ketkar proposes in the Maratha of Poona let the Congress observe a Day of Rectification to counteract the League's Day of Deliverance, proclaim the truly

National orientation suggested above and write to the League the last word closing all further correspondence—'Sirs, if you come, with you; if you do not, without you; and if you oppose, in spite of you'—we shall continue the good fight to free our Hindusthan as best as we can.

And in case our Moslem friends want to have a royal commission to define their right let the Congress tell them uncompromisingly, ;if you want to have a resort to any independent arbitration, well, then the highest tribunal of that nature can be but the League of Nations which has already harmed a public Law with regard to the rights of minorities al over the world. The case of Indian minorities also should be referred to the League'. In fact, had the Congress taken up this stand as uncompromisingly as possible and as Dr. Munje had already suggested then at the Round Table Conference, things could never have drifted in this wild way.

h) The Hindu Mahasabha will have to frame a detailed programme of its economic policy in the near future when it issues its electoral manifesto. All that I can do now is to suggest a few broad principles, as space forbids dilation. Firstly, it must be remembered that man is not altogether an economical being. It has been well said by Christ that man does not live by bread alone. As it is spiritually true it is also true in the racial, culture, national and several other aspect that go to constitute the human nature. Therefore, the attempt to interpret all human history and human activities in economical terms alone is altogether urge in him to live but hunger.

Besides hunger, the problem of bread, man has other appetites as fundamental as that, sensual, intellectual, sentimental, some natural, some acquired, some personal, some social and his being is a complex one; so also is his history. Man has a stomach but the stomach is not man. Therefore the solution that is sometimes suggested to the effect that the economical community of interest provides the only and the best solvent of all religious, racial, national and other antipathies that divide mankind in the world is as superficial as simple. The fact that in Europe the very races and nations wherein the prophets of this school arose and preached and where giant efforts were made to revolutionise all human institutions and recast them into this economical mould alone, religious, racial and national differences have been assuming formidable proportions and have been persisting to assert themselves in Germany, Italy, France, Poland, England, Spain, etc. in spite of centuries of the most intense propaganda to that you cannot altogether eliminate all religious or racial or national factors at a stroke, at a thought. Those who advance the easy arguments: 'if but you persuade all to unit on the economical plane and to forget every other superstitious difference as racial, culture, etc.' forget themselves that the very 'but' in their argument rebuts the practical utility at any rate, apart from its theoretical soundness. Consequently the Hindu Sanghatanist must in no case delude themselves with the belief the economical programme alone will ever suffice to solve all cultural, racial and national dangers that threaten them throughout India.

Secondly, they should remember that economical questions too are inextricably bound up under the circumstances obtaining in India with religious and racial complications. These are thousands of example which the workers in the Hindu

Sanghatanist field know through experience that if a Hindu takes to a particular trade which happens to be the monopoly of the Moslems he is persecuted. A new Hindu Pinjari or Tangewala is threatened at several places with death. Witness the fact that Moslem dacoits who attack cities and villages on the Frontiers and loot them proclaim at drum-beats 'we will only loot Hindus, no Moslems shopkeepers or money-lenders will we touch.' Hundreds and hundreds of cases of this types could be cited. Now, how are you to afford immediate relief to these Hindus unless by organizing them as Hindus? Moslem police, as Moslems, defend them not. It is clearly a religious, racial and cultural plague and only the patent economical pills can afford no cure. To preach to these millions of fanatics, for example the rioters in Sukkur Districts, that their economical interests are one with the Hindus and thus convert them into human brotherhood? Well, let them try it who like!—but how many centuries will it take? And what are the Hindus to do in the meanwhile? It is just to match the monomaniac remedy of Gandhiji—the spinning wheel, by which he wants to convert the whole world into Ahimsa and make it resort to eternal disarmament! Yet, let the wise mouse himself be asked to put into practice his excellent suggestion to bell the cat and let all others in the meanwhile take to others practical contrivances and steps to save themselves!

Consequently, leaving aside the doctrinaire solution of a human economical front or the airy hopes that if but we insist on the economical community of interest of all alike and unit all Indians at any rate, on the economical plane alone all religious, racial, national and cultural animosities will vanish like a mist, we Hindu Sanghatanists should as practical politicians restrict our immediate economical programme to the economical advance of the Hindu Nation alone.

Taking into consideration the special circumstances obtaining in India and the stages of social progress, the only school of economics which will suit our requirements in the immediate future is the school of Nationalistic economy. To express all the leading factors of our economical policy in a suitable formula I should like to style it as the policy of 'National co-ordination of class interests'. This is the economical flank of the Hindu Sanghatanists Platform.

Our immediate Economical Policy –the National Co-ordination of Class Interests

a) We shall first of all welcome the machines. This is a Machine age. The handcraft will of course have their due place and encouragement. But National production will be on the biggest possible machine scale. b) The peasantry and the working class from literally the chief source of National wealth, health and strength as well; for, stalwart army also has for its recruit depot to depend chiefly on these very classes which supply the Nation with the first two requisites. Therefore, every effort will be made to revigorate them and the villages which are their cradle. Peasants and labourers must be enabled to have their share in the distribution of wealth to such an extent as to enable them not only with a bare margin of existence but the average scale of a comfortable life. Nevertheless it must be remembered that they too being a part and parcel of the Nation as a whole must share obligations and responsibilities and therefore,

can only receive their share in such a way as is consistent with the general development and security of the National Industry, manufacture and wealth in general. c) As the National capital is under the present circumstances mainly individual and indispensable for the development of National Industry and manufacture, it also will receive due encouragement and recompense. d) But the interests of both the capital and labour will be subordinated to the requirement of the Nation as a whole. e) If an Industry is flourishing, the profits will be shared in a large portion by the labourers. But on the contrary if it is a losing concern, not only the Capitalist but to a certain extent even the Labourer will have to be satisfied with diminishing returns so that the National Industry as such may not altogether be undermined by the overbearing attitude of such selfish class interest of either the capitalists or labourites. In short the claims of the capitals and labour will be so co-ordinate from time to time as to enable the Nation as a whole to develop its National Industry and manufacture and make itself self-sufficient. f) In cases some of the key industries or manufacture and such other items may be altogether nationalized if the National Government can afford to do so and can conduct them more efficiently than private enterprises can do. g) The same principle applies to cultivation of land. We should so co-ordinate the interest of the landlord and the peasant that the National agriculture production may on the whole be developed and does not suffer owing to any selfish tussle between the classes interests of the landlord or the tenants or the tiller. h) In some cases the Government may take over the land and introduce State cultivation if it can serve to train up the peasant class as a whole with the of big machines and agriculture on a large and scientific scale. I) All strikes or lockouts which are obviously meant or inevitably tend to undermine and cripple National industry or production in general or are calculated to weaken the economic strength of the settled or in serious cases quelled. J) Private property must in general be held inviolate. K) And in no case there should be on the part of the State any expropriation of such property without reasonable recompense. l) Every step must be taken by the State to protect National industries against foreign competition.

I have hurriedly lined out above items to serve as illustrations only. The National economical strength must grow and the Nation must be made economically self-sufficient; these two form the pivot of the policy.

A special feature of no less importance of this Hindu Sanghatanists economics must of course be to safeguard the economical interests of the Hindus wherever and whenever they may be threatened by the economical aggression of the non-Hindus as happens today of a set policy in Nizam State, in the Punjab, in Bhopal, in Assam and in several other parts of India. Hindu Sabhas in all localities should make it a point to see that the Hindu peasants, the Hindu traders, the Hindu labourers do not suffer at all the hands of non-Hindu aggression while the conflicting class interests amongst the Hindus themselves should be solved in the light of the above general principle.

V

Our immediate Programme for the next two years.

The European WAR :--The two explicit resolutions passed by the working Committee regarding our policy towards the WAR in Europe leave nothing more to be said on that subject, as no new event has happened to demand to demand a change. I exhort the British Government once more that a definite and immediate declaration of granting the Dominion Status as contemplated in the Westminster Statute to India, at the end of the War at the latest is the only means to secure a whole-hearted sympathy of the Hindu people with England in this present struggle and to ensure the willingness even of an independent India in future to continue a co-partnership in the commonwealth on equal terms. Any delay in granting the Dominion Status as an immediate step to enable India to tread on the path of evolutionary progress towards her ultimate political destiny would prove dangerous even to the solidarity of the British Commonwealth. The rise and rapid advance of Japan in the East, of Russia, Italy and Germany in the west are events portentous and a con tented and self-governing India cannot but be a mighty factor in strengthening the British position in facing any anti-British combination. But no amount of political sophistry can disarm Indian discontent and make her tolerated the humiliation of continuing as a British dependency. Do you expect any longer to dupe her into the belief that it is only the want of an understanding between the Indian majority, and minority, the Hindus and Moslem with regard to such details as the percentage in representation, etc. that justifies England in delaying the grant of Dominion Status forthwith? The British Statesmen have recently that their conscience forbids to thrust an understanding on the minority, the Moslems, in India, against their will and would not move an inch till the Hindus and Moslems have produced a willing compromise and a common demand for a progressive constitution. It was really a news to learn that English Statesmen have grown so god-fearing and Democratical almost overnight as not to be willing to thrust on any people anything against their own will! But may it be asked that when you thrust your unmitigated political autocracy on India, was their any plebiscite taken to ascertain Indian opinion? Or did you take a plebiscite or receive a united request from the minority and the majority when only a couple of months ago you scrapped up the provincial autonomy at a stroke and invested Governors with powers to conduct the Government at their own discretion and in their own judgement? And if you could thrust undiluted autocracy, a vassalage on India and hold her as a dependency, can you not thrust a Dominion Status on her in spite of the will of a minority and especially so when the majority has unanimously demanded it? You can thrust curses can you not thrust blessing? The sooner the British people cease to have a resort to these transparent political subterfuges and to utilize the Moslem minority to camouflage their own unwillingness to grant Hindusthan her birthright, her Swarajya, while she is still treading on an evolutionary path of political process the better for England, the better for India. If the evolutionary path is thus altogether closed to the Hindus in particular by empowering the Moslems with a definite veto on all equitable progress a dead lock may ensue, but only for a while. Because nature hates vacuum : and if evolutionary progress is denied, the gathering forces of Time Spirit cannot but take the other and more dangerous turn.

Next two years' Constructive programme for the Hindu Sabhaits :--Unless indeed something unexpected and a for more imminent and urgent duty faces us in the meanwhile I call upon all Hindusabhas whether local, provincial or central, to concentrate their efforts on the following threefold constructive programme in the main.

We have numberless tasks before us, all useful, all pressing, in their own way. But it is always better to begin with the beginning. Instead of getting lost in details or trying to do all at once and ending in leaving everything undone or ill-done or bungled carried away by anything and everything that comes in the way it is always wiser to choose relatively what is most fundamental, most effective and at the same within the reach of our present resources and ability and hit upon a plan to intensify our efforts on those items only in the main.

We should also remember that unless we gather strength we cannot and should not always be after precipitating struggle only for the sake demonstration and excitement at the risk of courting an inevitable failure, when it is uncalled for. Navigators abide by the tide. Even lions lie in wait. Great dread-naughts are built in silent and hidden quarters of the ports before they are called out in action and can with their multi-throated roar and fire route their opponents.

I have not select the following items at random. All the above factors are taken into consideration in their selection. These three items are the most fundamental, the most urgent and yet quite within the reach of almost every Hindu Sanghatanist who means to do the really needful at the hour which, though it may not be quite exciting to begin with, is yet quite sure to enable the forces of Hindudom to face a righteous fight in defence of its honour and freedom when the hour is struck. Those who can undertake other items of the Sanghatan work along with these may of course do so. But our first and foremost attention must be concentrated on these three items for the next two years to begin with. Whatever we will be able to accomplish in this direction within these two years will put us in a position of vantage to solve other questions far will more effectively than it can be done if we take them up now. Therefore,--

Intensify your efforts on conducting a whirlwind campaign at every village and town and city to,--

1) Remove Untouchability.

2) Compel all universities, colleges and school to make military training compulsory to students and secure entry into the Naval, Aerial and Military forces and institutions for your youths in any and every way.

3) Prepare the Hindu Electorate to the utmost measure possible to vote only for those Hindu Sanghatanists who openly pledge to safeguard Hindu interests;-- and not to vote for the Congress Candidate, who can never serve Hindu interests with full freedom and boldness even if they wish or promise to do so, so long as they are bound by the Congress discipline and tied to the Congress ticket.

The first of these items will enable you to consolidate at least a couple of crores of your own brethren who are religiously, culturally, nationally and in every other way as much a part and parcel of Hindudom as any of us can claim to be. Every local Hindusabha must see to it in its own locality that these our so-called untouchable brethren are immediately elevated to the level of the so-called touchables by securing to them all fundamental rights which every citizen, even non-Hindus are entitled to exercise in public life. We should persuade our touchable brothers, in cases wherever untouchable

brothers are oppressed in any way on the only ground of untouchability based on birth alone to fight their cause out if need be by resorting to Law Courts. Of course we should on no account molest or disrespect the sentiments of our Sanatani brothers so far as their personal freedom is concerned. But in public schools, conveyances, posts, services and in every aspect of public life no Hindu should be permitted to deprive other Hindus of their public rights on ground of caste untouchability alone. Whatever social equality we Hindus allow to Moslems and other non-Hindus must as of right belong to our Hindu brothers of whatever caste they be. to act otherwise is in reality an insult to our common Hinduness. It must be plainly mentioned here that even those who are at present bracketed as untouchables are themselves guilty of this sin just like those who are bracketed as touchable Hindus. For, every untouchable caste treats some other caste supposed to be inferior to it as untouchable as ruthlessly as it is treated itself by others. The sin is common to all of us and therefore, let us all join hands together and be determined to remove this curse with a supreme effort. In the meanwhile our Sanatani brothers may rest assured that barring the fundamental rights which every citizen is entitled to in public life, the Hindu Mahasabha will always refrain from having any recourse to law fold even in the case of untouchability. But those Hindu Sanghatanists who are convinced of the incalculable harm untouchability has done and doing should also be free to act up according to their own conscience in their own dealing. The lines on which I call upon the Hindu Sanghatanist to carry on an intense campaign of removing untouchability would be made clear from time to time as the work proceeds. I may mention here even at the risk of a personal reference that those who can should make it a point to read the report of the ten years work done by the Ratnagiri Hindusabha under my lead in conducting such an intense campaign against untouchability which was attended with notable success. It will also make it clear that the approach of the Hindu Sabha to the question of the removal of untouchability differs at the root from the approach of the Gandhist attempt to remove it. Therefore, although we may co-operate yet we should not identify our movement with the Gandhist Movement.

In the next two years time we Hindusabhaits must do more in removing untouchability than two hundred years could do in the past.

So far as the second item is concerned the planes will be outlined in the All-India Committee and the sitting of the working Committee from time to time.

The third item constitutes of course the very key stone of the whole programme. Unless and until the Hindu electorate does not return only the Hindu Sanghatanist to the Legislatures and local Electorate in the eyes of the Government, the Hindus must continue to remain as political orphans in Hindusthan, in their own country. The Hindu may fight and win political rights as they have done to a great extent in the past. But so long as they have not cured themselves of this suicidal folly of resigning those rights in the hands of the Congress at the polls, they can never expect to strengthen the legitimate position of Hindudom in India. But on the country will find themselves as non-entities and the Moslems alone more profited by those very rights which the Hindus have own and consequently in a position to suppress the Hindus with all the greater impact.

Remember also that a new Round Table Conference or a sort of a Constituents Assembly may be called in the near future. So long as the return as their representatives the Congressites alone the Government is bound and justified to look upon the Congress to represent the Hindu view, even if the Congress protects against it. And they will not recognize the Congress as representing the Moslems or the Nation as a whole even if the Congress claims that position; because the Moslems refuse to return any Moslem on the Congress ticket as a rule. Even Dr. Kichlu was defeated at the Moslem poll because he stood on the Congress ticket. Under such circumstances there is grave and a sure danger of further surrender of Hindu rights to Moslem demands which are already claiming equality of status even in the Hindu provinces. There will be no use of any protest from the Hindu Sanghatanist party or of the secret bickering or fulminations of those Hindus in the Congress camp itself who personally hate this attitude on the part of the Congress as an organization—for, there will be no party with credentials from the Hindu electorate to represent them, who can advocate at the Conference the legitimate Hindu rights as freely and boldly and uncompromisingly as the Moslem League representatives can do theirs.

But if the Hindu electorate does ever come to its senses, refuses to return the Congressite candidates and returns only the Hindu Sanghatanist in majority, the Hindus can have Hindu Sanghatanist Government in at least seven provinces as the Moslems have in the Punjab, Bengal, etc. and the Hindus can capture enough political power so as to be in a position to remove at least 75% of the grievances under which they are groaning now even in provinces like U.P. where they from the majority and the Congress ruled. The provincial police and the public service will be under the command of Hindu Sanghatanist Governments and will not dare to trample on or neglect Hindu rights. Nay, the Moslems of themselves, will neither dare to encroach upon Hindu rights nor put forward such intolerable anti-Hindu or anti-National demands. As we have no grudge against the Moslem minority in so far as their legitimate rights are concerned and as the Hindu Sanghatanists are ever willing to live in an honourable friendship and amity with their Moslem countrymen in Hindusthan, the Moslem minority too will have every protection in the exercise of its legitimate rights.

Therefore, all our efforts must be intensely concentrated during the next two or three years in persuading the Hindu electorate to vote for the Hindu Sanghatanist alone….and not to vote for the Congressites in any future elections. This will require a daily press devoted to the Hindu Sanghatanist cause and a central fund. Above all, we shall have to from a Hindu party—including Sanatanists, Aryasamajists and all such other Hindu bodies, sects and sections, who have not as yet any formal connection with the Hindu Mahasabha as an organization but are as devoted Hindu Sanghatanists as the Hindusabhaits themselves. The ways and attended to by the local, provincial and the central Hindu Mahasabha organizations and above all Hindu Sanghatanists whether they be formal members of the Hindu Sabha or not.

But if in spite of our efforts the Hindu electorate persists in its suicidal folly and votes for the Congress and we do not secure a majority at the polls? –Never mind. Our efforts are sure to succeed in securing a minority : as we already find in Maharashtra and some other places that Hindu Sanghatanist candidates are not only elected in some hotly

contested elections against the Congress but in cases have topped the polls. And even the presence of a minority of devoted Hindu Sanghatanists in legislatures and local bodies acts as an effective check on the waywardness of the majority, gives a tongue unto Hindu grievances and paves a way to further progress and power.

But if we are completely outvoted at the elections and do not secure a single seat? Never mind still. We shall acknowledge the defeat and share the humiliation in general. but we can proudly claim for ourselves individually that we did not betray our conscience in spite of overwhelming odds. The responsibility of the electoral defeat and the humiliation will lie on the Hindu electorate in general and not on him who casts his own vote at any rate on the Hindu side. Moreover the very risk of a contest in elections against the Congress on such a righteous issue is bound to compel the Congress to be more and more afraid of sacrificing Hindu interests on the altar of the fetish of a Psuedo-Nationalism.

To join the National fight when and while the forces are winning, is patriotic enough. But when the fight for righteous because is almost lost, to persist still in rallying round its banner and refuse to betray one's conscience to the last, in spite of a general defeat and humiliation,--is simply heroic! And all that an honest soldier can individually do! if he cannot share the joy of a general victory, nothing can deprive him of the supreme satisfaction of having done his duty well. This should be the faith with which the Hindu Sanghatanists should continue their contest under the present circumstances. Let us determine, even if the worst comes to the worst, to be the last of the devoted batch of the Hindu Sanghatanists than to be the first of the Hindu traitors!

22nd Session Madura – 1940

Delegates to and Members of the Hindu Mahasabha,

I really cannot find words adequate enough to express my cordial and grateful appreciation of the trust which you have placed in me in electing me this year also, for the forth time in an unbroken succession, to the Presidentship of the Akhil Bhartiya Hindu Mahasabha. During the last three years I always felt confident whenever I was called upon by you to preside that I would to acquit myself of the responsibility it involved as to justify your choice to your own satisfaction as well as to the satisfaction of my own conscience. But this year I felt so uneasy when I learnt of my election to the Presidentship for the fourth time while I continue bed-ridden owing to long drawn illness with no speedy recovery in sight that I immediately wrote to our esteemed leader Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu informing him of my intention to resign telegraphically the high office, as I painfully conscious of my inability to discharge its duties with that untiring activity and zeal with which I tried to do it throughout my tenure as the President of Hindu Mahasabha. But Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu wired back to me not to take such a step all of a sudden as that would tell disastrously on the success of the Session to come. Several of our esteemed leaders and comrades also wired to me to the same effect and urged upon me the necessity of accepting the Presidentship in the best interest of the Hindu cause. In differences to this public will and especially due to my unwillingness to cause any additional worry at the eleventh hour to Dr.Varadarajulu Naidu, the band of Hindu Sanghatanist workers and the esteemed Chairman and the member of the Reception committee who had undergone such strenuous efforts to hold his first Hindu Mahasabha Session in Tamil Nad, I yielded to the public pressure and agreed to preside over this Session at any rate.

Now, if my health improves, I shall of course set to the work you have entrusted to me with unsparing and untiring zeal and effort to try to lead the movement to the best of my ability through thick and thin, through sunshine and shower. But if my ailing health improves not, instead of playing false to my conscience in sticking to the high post without the required strength to discharge its duties as strenuously as it should be done, I should be allowed to resign the Presidentship and shift its onerous responsibility to some stronger and worthier shoulders. Of course, it goes without saying that even if I cease to be the President of Mahasabha, I cannot but continue to work and fight as a soldier in your ranks who has dedicated his life once and for all to the sacred Hindu cause.

The Mahasabha Movement marches ahead with long and rapid strides

It is encouraging to note that the Hindu movement has been advancing with long and rapid strides throughout this year under the auspices of the Mahasabha. Even a passing reference to some leading items in the report of the work of the Mahasabha during this year will be sufficient to bear out this fact.

Firstly, we have brought this year another great Presidency within the sphere of influence of our ideological realm. Only a year ago there was hardly even a district

Hindusabha worth the name throughout this Madras presidency. With the exception of the patriarchal personality of Syt. Vijayaraghavacharior of Salem and a handful of leading men here and there who realized the urgency and importance of the Hindu Sanghatan Movement, the millions and millions of Hindus in this presidency knew next to nothing about the Hindu movement or the Hindu Mahasabha which led it. While that political section amongst the Hindus who knew of it, knew it only either to pooh-pooh it or to hate it. But fortunately for the Hindu cause, a veteran leader who was thoroughly well verse in conducting mass movements and held a high position in the political life of this presidency for decades in the past came forward at the beginning of this year to espouse the cause of the Hindu Mahasabha and organize the Hindu community under the Hindu flag in this Presidency also. He was Dr.P. Varadarajulu Naidu. Very soon a band of enthusiastic pioneers gathers round him and several men of position offered their co-operation in the sacred mission. The result is that within some ten months time the whole presidency of Madras from Trivandrum to Rajahmudry has not only become alive to the growing prestige and power of Hindu Mahasabha but millions of Hindus in it have been captivated by the ideology of Hindu Sanghatan. Consequently, the Mahasabha has already become a force to be counted within the political and social life of this presidency also.

Nay, further, this Session in the very heart of the Tamilnad furnishes a visual proof of the great Pan-Hindu awakening that has come over the Hindu mind not only in this presidency alone, but throughout Hindustan. It is not only the streams of all Indian rivers, the Sindhu and Saraswati, the Jamna and Ganga, the Krishna and Kaveri that have met in confluence of Madura as they did this morning when water from all the Tirthas were taken out in procession, but it is also the All-India streams of Hindu life that have met here today in a Pan-Hindu confluence. Every pulse that bits in every individual here in this vast concourse is pulsating with the oneness of our racial, religious, political and national being and the Pan-Hindu flag that is waving on this Mandap does but symbolize the flame that has set some twenty crores of Hindu hearts aflame with the glad tidings that a resurrected Hindu Nation is soon to rise resplendent out of its grave of a self-forgetful swoon.

Another item which deserves to be noted in reviewing this year’s work is the remarkable increase in the well checked and regularly registered membership of the Hindu Mahasabha throughout India. In this connection the Maharashtra Provincial Hindusabha and the Bengal Provincial Hindusabha deserves a special mention. Some five years ago the Mahasabha counted its members in thousands. This year we are in a position to count them in lakhs and if but we all work with unabated and untiring energy for some five years more, we shall doubtlessly be able to count our membership in millions. In the addition to this remarkable increase in membership of the Hindu Mahasabha organization has also thrown out its branches this year in large numbers in places where they did not exist before. Then again in addition to the Hindusabhas which are formerly affiliated with the Mahasabha there have grown up Hindusabha organizations in the state which are for all purpose identical and allied with the Hindu Mahasabha organization but which for reason of policy and convenience are not regularly affiliated with it. As prominent amongst these may be mentioned: - The Travancore State

Hindusabha and the Shuddhisabha; the Kolhapur State Hindusabha and the Shuddhisabha; the Bhopal State Hindusabha; the Nizam State Hindu Mandal; the Gwalior State Hindusabha; the Cutch-Kathiawar State Hindusabha and such others. The majority of these have been started very recently and all of them have recorded a commendable progress this year. It is also encouraging to note that the Hindusabhas are being outside India too, in Africa, Japan, Trinidad and some other countries. Reports show that the Trinidad Hindusabha is making good progress.

Of the State Hindusabhas the Nizam Hindu Mandal deserves a special attention on account of the fact that not only its extensive activities but even its very existence testify to the fact how the Nizam Civil Resistance movement had morally and materially strengthened the position of the Hindus in that State and how on the whole the civil and religious liberties that were denied to them before the Civil Resistance movement began, can now be exercised at least to such extent as to enable the Hindus to forge ahead and gather sufficient strength to win further liberties and to get strong enough to defend themselves against the outrages of Moslem fanaticism which even today continue to disfigure the State. The Hindu Mandal has already established its branches in important centers in the State and is rapidly consolidating the Hindus there. The awakening that came over the Hindus in that State during the exciting and inspiring days of the Civil Resistance Movement has doubtless come to stay and has already made the Hindus in that State more self confident and manly enough to defend themselves as has been demonstrated in a number of cases this year in which the Hindus counter-attacked and brought the Moslem gundas to their knees when the latter took to rioting or looting as they were wont to do with impunity in days gone by. There have been some organized and outrageous anti-Hindu riots even this year in that State as for example at Nanded wherein the very state police and authorities, mostly Moslems, did not hesitate to molest the Hindus; - but then such incidents were relatively few this year when compared to the state of things prevailing a few years ago. We must also remember that even in the so-called British India such fanatical outbursts on the part of the Moslems are not quite unknown. The new factor that is to be noted, so far as the State is concerned, is the increasing resistance and even the spirit of counter attacking to checkmate aggression which are being displayed the Hindus in the State in an ever increasing measure. *If but this spirit continues to grow and the Hindus in the Hydria State get consolidated into a Hindu front voting for those representatives who are pledged to the Hindu cause* they would certainly be able before long to bring sufficient pressure on the Nina government to yield a many constitutional rights to the Hindus in that State as their population strength demands and as the Moslems in the Cashmere State have already acquired on the same plea of being a major community.

The propagandistic activities of the Mahasabha were also carried on, on a more extensive scale throughout this year than it could be done in the past. Our grateful thanks are specially due in this respect to our veteran leader Dharmaveer Dr. Moonje who inspite of his advanced age kept himself constantly on the run from province to province throughout the year. Most influential leaders like Sir M.N.Mookerji, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji, Dharmaveer Bhopatkar, as well as hundreds of provincial leaders and organizers kept working night and day with the selfless devotion of a religious

missionary or a Tapaswi and toured from place to place to propagate the cause. During this year, there were held not less than a hundred provincial, district and even Taluka conferences; local meetings were held in thousands; while cart-loads of Sanghatan literature were being freely distributed from all important centers of the Mahasabha organization throughout India.

In the electoral field also we have secured this year some notable successes which proved that at least the intelligent part of the Hindu electorate has unmistakably begun to realize that their best interests as Hindus could only be served by voting for the Sanghatanists representatives and that it is suicidal for Hindus to vote for a Congress candidate so long as he is bound to the Congress ideology. As a case in point, we may mention the hotly contested election to the Calcutta Corporation. The Bengal Hindusabha came out with flying colours at several polling stations in spite of the fact that it was the first time when Hindu Mahasabha openly challenged the long and firmly established monopoly of the Congress at the Hindu polls, and the consequence was that the Congress could not form a majority party in the corporation on their own ticket. St some other places, as for example in Sindh, Mahad, etc. we inflicted almost a cent per cent defeat on the Congressites and got a clear majority. Of course it is not wonder that at some places the Hindumahasabha suffers reverses also. But we shall have to start in every election for at least five years to come fully prepared to face such electoral reverses. The Hindu electorate cannot so quickly learn to unlearn the lesion that has been branded on their mind that its electoral duty consists in nothing else but to vote for the Congress with eyes closed, tongues tide and brains held in abeyance. Nevertheless, the moral of these reverses also should be carefully noted by us. As an illustration of this let us take Municipal election at Karnavati (Ahmedabad) which take this very month where the Hindusabha lost all the seats it competed for.

In this case of Karnavati also this was the first time when the Congress monopoly was challenged by the Hindu Mahasabha at the polls. the Congress although it calls itself ` National ‘ had set up no candidate in Moslem wards. On the Election Day all the Congressites sought only Hindu votes and proclaimed even themselves as Hindus. Their Nationalism on that day did not fight shy on insisting upon the fact that they were Hindus, an act which is branded by them as below their dignity as `Nationalists’ throughout the period till the day of any election dawns. The opposition of the Hindu Mahasabha was also so tough that it taxed the resources of the Congressites party to its utmost capacity. The arrest of patriot Vallabhbhai Patel was deliberately staged at that city just on the eve of the election and after his arrest a message was broadcasted as his last word to the citizens that no voter should vote for the Hindu Mahasabha. As if that was the real issue for which patriot Patel courted arrest as if not to vote for the Hindu Mahasabha was such a patriotic virtue that it should constitute the only theme for the Congress Satyagrahi on which the Hindus required to be instructed if India was to be saved. Nevertheless the election campaign served as the best occasion for Hindusabhaits too to preach their ideology to the public and the more the Congress grew excited the larger was the audience that attended the Hindusabha meeting to know the other side of the question. Some of the meetings addressed by such popular Hindu Mahasabha orators as Syt. Chandragupta Vedalankar and Prof. Deshpande were more largely attended than

any meeting held by the Congress. So at long last came in the last argument which the Congressites are wont to use during every election campaign, the argument of gundaism. Hindusabha meetings were disturbed and free fights became the order of the day. At the polls also Hindusabha voters were molested to cause panic and as the crowing rite of the Ahimsak Dharma, the Congressitte gundas attacked the central Hindusabha office in the city, on the last day of polling, causing serious bloodshed, injuring a number of Hindusabha volunteers so seriously that they had to be removed to the hospital, till at last the police stepped in, took the Hindusabha office under their protection and kept patrolling the street for a day or so even after the elections were over.

I have referred at some length to this incident because for the Hindusabhaits it has a moral of its own. The Congress at present is resorting to Satyagraha in order, as some of them say, to vindicate the right of free speech denied by the British Government or as some other Congressites say to proclaim the regime of absolute non-violence in the whole world. In the light of the above incidents at Karnavati during these very weeks of Satyagrah we are tempted to ask, does the Congress want to secure the right of free speech from the British for the Congress alone so that they may be left freer to gag the mouth of their own countrymen kith and kin? And does that regime of absolute non-violence mean the ban on all other lathis and weapons but those which are to be freely used against the Hindusabha offices and meetings? And in that case does not linguistic honesty at any rate require that this Congress campaign be better styled as `Asatyagrah' instead of `Satyagrah?' but whatever reflections we may pass on Congress gundaism in electoral campaign, we must not commit the mistake of attributing the Congress success at the polls to gundaism alone. We must remember that a large section of the Hindu electorate itself is likely to persist voluntarily and knowingly for some time to come in the suicidal folly of voting for the Congress sheerly out of the vicious habit of a long standing. Consequently, without being discouraged by reverses as at Karnavati or on the contrary without getting cocksure by electoral successes as in Sindh or at Calcutta, Delhi, Mahad and such other places, we Hindusabhaits must continue to contest the elections not caring much, for the time being for the results. The result in an election generally depends on the folly or the wisdom of the electorate and you can never correct the electorate unless you continue to contest elections and utilize that opportunity for propagating your principles. Even the most powerful parties of today, the Nazis or the Fascists or the Bolshevists or the Democrats did not sweep the polls at a bound. They too had to face reverses in their initial stages. If but we take cautious steps, study the technique of electoral campaign at big centers and then enter the contest, we are sure even under the present circumstances to secure an influential minority in representation to the Legislatures and Local bodies and even the presence of a minority of devoted Hindu Sanghatanists is sure to act as a check on the Congressites majorities, to give a tongue unto Hindu grievances and pave a way to further political power. Nay, even if we fail to secure a single seat in an election, even then the contest itself will repay the trouble and checkmate the Congressite waywardness. The consciousness that it is not a walkover now in winning seats as it used to be, will force the Congressites to prove to the Hindu electorate that they too do not disregard Hindu interests as the Hindu Sanghatanist rival candidates in the elections allege and will make the Congressites more and more afraid of sacrificing Hindu interests to the fetish of their Pseudo- Nationalism. If the Hindu party

persists in contesting elections, a day will come when the Congrassite Hindus shall have to go to the polls with a conspicuous `Gandham' besmeared on their foreheads and the `Tulsi' rosary in their hands to prove to the Hindu electorate that it was they, the Congressites, who were Hindus of a purer ray serene than the Hindu Sanghatanist heretics.

That is why I take this opportunity of rendering special thanks to the Hindusabha of Karnavati for having contested so toughly in spite of all odds instead of playing false to their conscience and let go the elecion uncontested for fear of defeat. They have done their duty well. It is that part of the Hindu electorate which voted for the Congress which is responsible for betraying Hindu interests and will soon pay the bill. Curiously enough the very election week at Karnavati demonstrated the fact how this bill will have to be paid and how Hindus will be made to suffer humiliation at the hands of the Congressites. It is a straw but it shows how the wind blows. In a big educational institution at Karnavati wherein there are some eleven hundred Hindu students and some eighty Moslem students, there was a programme wherein only the first stanza of `Vande Mataram' which was certified by the Congress itself as quite harmless even from its timid point of view was to be sung. But the Moslem students objected to that too, to the song itself. The school authorities took out of their file a circular which was issued when the Congress was in power and which led it down that the `Vande Mataram' song or any part of it should not be sung if the Moslems objected and in accordance with it the song was altogether omitted from the programme to the great resentment of the Hindu students. Thus the sentiment of eighty (80) Moslem students weighted more than and outvoted the sentiment of eleven hundreds (1100) Hindu students. This is Congress democracy!

The Hindu Mahasabha has been doing all it can to define the Hindu cause in Sindh

While we are passing the last year's report of the Hindu movement, under review, of all the Hindusabhas the Sindh Provincial Hindusabha and in fact the Sanghatanist party in general in Sindh including the Hindu Panchayats and Dharma Sabhas there, must be specially congratulated upon the unflinching devotion to their Dharma with which they faced daily myrtyrdom throughout this year during the latest rising of the murderous Moslem fanatics, in Sindh. You all know how keenly we feel our helplessness in extending more efficient help to our Sindh brothers than we could do. But it may safely be stated that short of armed retaliation the Hindu Mahasabha or rather the Hindu Sanghatanist party in general has been doing all that could be done under the circumstances to safeguard and defend the Hindu cause in Sindh. Only a couple of years ago I had been to Hyderabad, Karachi, Sukkur, Shikarpur, Rohri and studies the situation on the spot and presided over the Hindu conference at Sukkur held under the auspices of the Sindh Provincial Hindusabha. It was at that conference that the Hindus determined definitely to oppose the Moslem aggression on the Manzalgah to formulate their grievances and to form a Hindu front which would oppose tooth and nail any attempt on the part of the Congress to sacrifice the Hindu interests in Sindh by handing over the province entirely to Moslem domination. The provincial Hindusabha organization was overhauled and the Sanatan Sabhas, the Sikhs, the Aryasamaj and other Hindu Sanghatanist parties were persuaded to work hand in hand and merge themselves into a

common Hindu front. Thereupon the Sindh provincial Hindusabha repudiated openly the pretensions of the Congress party to represent the Hindus and began to contest elections on Hindu tickets to Legislatures and local bodies. At several places they succeeded in inflicting defeats on the Congress candidates and today representatives of the Hindu Sanghatanist party from so influential a minority in the provincial legislatures and some of the local bodies as to be able very often to hold the balance so as to influence the formation of the Moslem Ministries themselves. In addition to that, there are two to three Hindu Ministers in the Ministry itself who are pledged to the Hindu ticket. When the Hindus were getting thus more and more consolidated and their opposition to the Manzalgah question grew serious, the Moslems broke out in open riots here and there and the Hindu life and property were seriously threatened. Even then the Congressite party did not dare to take up the cause of the Hindu minority in hand and the All India Congress took no notice whatsoever of the violent Campaign which the Moslems who were in overwhelming majority in that province had set on foot to clear out at any rate some districts of Sindh of Hindu population and render Sindh a veritable Pakistan. When the position in Sindh grew so serious and the Moslem parties fighting with each other could from no stable Government Dr. Moonje Mahashay paid a visit to that province on the eve of this year and presided over the second Hindu Conference at Sukkur. The Hindus once more declared their firm determination to defend their rights and not to sign voluntarily any humiliating surrender not only in connection with the Manzalgah affair but in case of any question which touched Hindu honour. The Hindu Sanghatanists discarded the Congressite advice of evacuating Sindh altogether. They were and are determined to defend their ancient hearths and homes and keep the flag of Hindudom flying on the banks of the Indus even though and so long as the Hindus continue to be in the minority of one! Just a couple of days after this conference, the Sukkur riots broke out as the Moslems were driven out of the Manzalgah under Hindu pressure and the murderous Moslem rising spread from village to village. The Sindh provincial Hindusabhaits taking their own lives in the hollow of their hands strained every nerve to defend the Hindus as best they could. Hindusabhaits, the leaders and the followers were prosecuted, persecuted, externed, interned, stabbed, threatened and had to work every hour at the imminent risk of their life. Still on the whole they stood bravely by their posts and short of an armed retaliation did everything to oppose and quell the Moslem rising and to succour and relieve the Hindus. The Hindusabhas in other provinces also extended every sympathy to their co-religionist in Sindh. There had been hundreds of meeting all over India held by the Hindusabhas. Resolutions were passed, funds were raised and sent to relieve the Hindu suffered. Deputations were sent and representations made to the Government. I myself urged upon the viceroy and the Governor of Sindh that the Moslem Ministry and the provincial Autonomy should be scrapped, that the Governor himself should take over the administration in his hands to begin with and later on the Government re-annex Sindh to the Bombay presidency. I put it the viceroy in writing, ‘Had so many Europeans, men and woman, been butchered or outraged in Sindh as has been the case with the Hindus would the Government have looked on with folded hands as they are doing now? Would they not have raised to the ground the villages and resorts of murderous Moslem conspirators an act just reprisals?’ it is amusing to see that some people from time to time should question, why the Hindu Mahasabha does not publish a full report of the Moslem atrocities in Sindh? The fact is that the Sindh Hindusabha, the

very men on the spot have held investigation from time to time and published regular reports with names, statements, amount of loss the Hindu sufferers. A couple of the reports had even been proscribed by the Governments. The Hindu Sanghatanists press had to furnish security for printing that. Almost all Hindu Sanghatanist papers in India have printed all those details again and again. In fact it is only due to the Hindu Mahasabha activities and the Hindu Sanghatanist press that the grievances and calamities of the Hindus in Sindh could at all be known all over India. Moreover, it is only due to the pressure which the Hindu Mahasabhaits brought to bear on the Government that the Governor had at last forced the hands of the Moslems Ministry and took such stringent steps that at least some of the leading mischief-makers were brought to book, some effective protection afforded to the Hindus in the villages, some terror struck in the hearts of the malefactors and consequently there could be at least a temporary lull in the anti-Hindu activities of the Moslem fanatics in Sindh. In view of the above fact, I feel no hesitation in stating again that the Hindu Mahasabha through its provincial and local branches and with the help of the Hindu Sanghatanist public in general all over India have done whatever it could do under the circumstances to extend relief to the Hindu sufferers in Sindh short of armed reprisals or retaliation. But the latter means cannot fall within the sphere of our discussion here as here we must concern ourselves only with a legitimate and constitutional means. We wish we could do more than what is done and if the situation in Sindh does not improve soon more stringent steps shall be taken as circumstances permit.

It is Congress, which is primarily responsible for the calamities which have befallen the Hindus in Sindh

When we find that in spite of all these facts it is precisely the Congressites who accuse the Hindu Mahasabha for having done nothing for, the Hindus in Sindh that the necessity arises of reminding the Congressites that, was it not the Congress which insisted on and brought about the separation of Sindh from the Bombay presidency? And was not that the original sin? The Hindu Mahasabha fought tooth and nail against the separation of Sindh warning the Congressite Hindus that such a step would only lead to untold miseries of the Hindus: that it was a part of the Moslem conspiracy to separate Sindh so as to lay the foundation-stone of their pet Pakistan scheme: that wild, fanatical and murderous gangs of Moslems who always proved about the borders of Sindh would pounce upon the Hindu minority and even the most polished Moslems throughout India would not raise a finger to save the latter but would wait for the moment when the Hindus were either wiped off or evacuated Sindh en masse leaving it a pure Dar-ul-Islam a Moslem territory. But in spite of this opposition of the Mahasabha the Congressite Hindus voted for separation of Sindh just to please the Moslems! And now it is the Congressites who are demanding from the Hindu Mahasabha the explanation of what it was doing for the Hindus in Sindh!! The incendiary who first set the village on the fire is now demanding from the citizens an explanation of the fact why they could not exert themselves more in putting down the fire! The working Committee of the Congress, while everyday brought harrowing news of anti-Hindu outrage in Sindh did not utter a single word in condemnation of it. Nor was a single meeting held throughout India by the Congress to protest against it. It was only when the Hindu Mahasabha activities brought

sufficient pressure upon the Government to take stringent measures and pressed the Government to scrap up the Moslem Autonomy that Maulana Azad was hurriedly dispatched by Gandhiji to Sindh. But with what leading objectives in view?

But Maulana Azad's Mission was not so much to safeguard the Hindus as to stabilize the Moslem Ministry

He did not formulate any scheme to recompense or safeguard the Hindus nor did he issue any condemnation or frame any charge-sheet of the Moslem atrocities. His whole anxiety under Gandhiji's instructions was to exhort the Moslems to from a stable Government so as not to give any excuse to the Hindu Mahasabha to force the hands of the Government to re-annex Sindh to Bombay or empower the Governor to resume the administration in his own hands. If the Moslems fail to from a stable Government in Sindh how were they going to prove to the British Government that they would be able to rule their would-be Pakistan as efficiently as the British? That seemed to be the anxiety which drove Maulana Azad to Sindh. For, one fails to understand how a stable Government of those very Moslem parties who have been responsible for the plight of the Hindus up to this time could improve the condition and safeguard the life and property of the Hindu minority there. A stable Government of these Moslem parties may as well prove more dangerous to the Hindus than other wise. The temporary cessation of crime in Sindh is the result of the direct pressure exercised by the Governor and the consequent hunt of the Moslem criminals which had already been initiated before Maulana Azad stepped into Sindh. Not a stable Moslems Ministry or any other measure serving only as an eye-wash can ever be an effective way of protecting the legitimate rights of the Hindu minority in Sindh or ensure peace and order. The annulling of the Moslem autonomy in Sindh and the re-annexation of it to the presidency of Bombay can alone secure that objective.

The Pan-Hindu movement animates the Hindu princes too

It is encouraging to note another factor, while we are reviewing this year's work, that a lively interest is being evinced by the Hindu princes in the Mahasabha activities. The Pan-Hindu ideology was sure to stir up, sooner or later, the latent fire in the blood of our historic forefathers which floes in the veins of our Hindu Princes and make them realize that their duty required them not only to sympathize with but to lead the Hindu movement. The far-sighted amongst them have begun to realize that their present and future interests as well are, in fact identified with the Pan-Hindu movement now growing stronger from day to day. If, up to this time, the Hindu Princes failed to lead the Hindu movement or help it with that fervour, courage and religious devotion with which the Moslem Princes in India identify themselves with the Moslem political parties in India and share in the Pan-Islamic ambition, the fault does not altogether lie on the side of the Hindu Princes alone. The Hindu public, in general, and notably the Congressite Hindus, in particular, never extended any the least sympathy with the Hindu States or realized their importance; but on the contrary, arrogated to themselves the monopoly of patriotism and looked down on the Hindu States as an impediment in the path of India's progress, which, the sooner it was removed, the better it would be for the Nation. But, the Moslem

public on the other hand, with a truer insight into political realities had ever been intensely proved of the few Moslem States in India, looked upon them as organized centers of Moslem strength and even Nababs. Consequently, the Moslem Princes. Too ever felt that not only their present interests but even their future greatness and future glory depended on the progress and strength of the Pan-Islamic movement, led by the Moslem politicians in India. If but the Hindu Sanghatanist possess an insight into political realities they would soon find that the Hindu states are, in fact, nearly the only centers of the organized, military, administrative and political Hindu strength and are bound to play a more active and more decisive part in the near future in moulding the destiny of the Hindu Nation than any other factor within our present reach. Even as it is, what party of our chatter- box politicians and slogan-ridden ideologues had succeeded in effecting actually social or industrial or military progress on such an extent as say for example, the Hindu States of Baroda, Mysore, Travan-core or Gwalior have recorded? For want of space and inclination, I do not deal with this question here at any greater length. All that I like to emphasize here and want the Hindu Sanghatanist throughout India to note is the fact that they should welcome the response which the Pan-Hindu ideology is evoking in the hearts of our Hindu Princes and to realize that the stronger the Hindu States grow, the lesser will be the danger of any anti-Hindu aggression in any problematical danger of internal anarchy and anti-Hindu aggression. Of all the factors that are likely, under the present circumstances, to contribute to the resurgence and rejuvenation of a consolidated Hindu Nation, the Hindu States constitute the most efficient one.

The Moslem with only two or three important Moslem States to depend upon, are hopeful enough,--and in the absence of any countercheck on the part of the Hindus are rights hopeful of utilizing the organized Moslem power in those States as a pivot for their plans of Moslem domination. But we Hindus have never taken it into our head what powerful resources we have in the existence of some fifty Hindu States with armies, organized police forces, treasuries, governmental machineries all relatively at least as efficient as the Moslem States have and some of them as large as independent countries in Europe. When we hear that the Khaksars and the frontier Pathans are plotting to rally round the banner of the Nizam and raise him to the pedestal of an independent Moslem King, we are startled get overawed and are at a loss to know how to meet this impending danger. But it never occurs to us that while the Moslems are building castles in air for their independent Nizam to lodge, there is already in fact an independently Hindu Kingdom of Nepal with a hundred thousand seasoned Hindu soldiers shouldering up-to-date rifles in defence of the Hindu cause!

It is not want of resources, Oh Hindus, which forces you to be so helpless but it is the want of practical insight in political realities to know your resources; and the tact to use them. You have lost the political eye altogether. Think of the fact that thousands of Congressite Hindus are openly maintaining that the Nepali Hindus are foreigners to us, Indians, while at the same time, they are simply dying to hug the Moslem Pathans even from beyond the frontier as Indian Nationals and it is only the other day that Gandhiji himself stated that if the Nizam became an independent Emperor of India even with the help of the Pathans from beyond the Frontier, that rule would be a cent per cent 'Home

Rule,' a cent per cent 'Swarajya'. So then, even the help of the Moslem Pathans from beyond does not vitiate the Congress Nationalism. But the help of the Hindu Gurkhas vitiates it;--the Gurkhas who are the direct descendants of Rajputs and went to Nepal only some three centuries ago! It is this political lunacy which has affected the Congress Hindu mind that constitutes the real cause of our present helpless and the only cure lies in the Pan-Hindu ideology which will at once give the correct orientation to all our movements and reveal to us what inexhaustible resources lie even now at our disposal and make you realize that organized power of the Hindu States constitutes the most effective and powerful of them. Hence it is that I lay so much store by that factor and am glad to note that some of the Hindu Princes also have come to realize that not only their duty but even their interests demand that the Hindu movement in general should grow from strength to strength. If Hindudom is uprooted the Hindu States also must fall down and wither as inevitably as the limbs of a body that ceases to live.

The Hindu Mahasabha captures the political stage

It was but a matter of course that the progress which the Hindu Mahasabha had recorded in its activities as detailed our above and the rapid strides with which the Hindu movement forged ahead throughout the last two years should have impressed the Indian as well as the British Government too to some extent or the other. It cannot be denied that the unequivocal recognition by the Government this year of the Hindu Mahasabha as the political power which must be consulted on a footing of equality with the Congress and the League in matters affecting all-India politics constitutes the outstanding events in the history of the Hindu Mahasabha movement. Up to this time, the Congress and the League were looked upon by the Government as the only two representative bodies, whose opinion was tantamount to Indian opinion. The Government seem to have framed an equation and learnt it by heart that the Congress and the League was equal to India as a whole. of these two, the League was rightly taken to express the Moslem opinion in general. because the League openly avows that it is there to safeguard and promote the Moslem interests. But the Government seem to have taken the Congress to represent the Hindu opinion only because out of the two bodies, the Congress and the League, which to the Government thought represented the sum total of Indian opinion, that is, the opinion of Hindus and Moslems, if the League represented the Moslem opinion then the Congress must of necessity be taken to represent the Hindu opinion and interests. Although the Congress itself openly resented the charge that they represented Hindus and proved their contention to the hilt by actually betraying Hindu interests a hundred times over, as for example, in the question of Sindh separation, Communal Award, the Frontier policy, the Hindusthani Language, etc., still the Government persisted in believing that the Congress and the League were equivalent as a sum total of Hindu-Moslem representation. Thus, the Hindu view continued to be ascertained by the Government through the opinion of that very body which indignantly repudiated the advocacy of the Hindu cause. Consequently, the Hindus as Hindus not only continued to be unrepresented but were positively misrepresented in all Governmental Constitutional deliberation, All Indian Round Table Conferences, etc., But the growing prestige, influence and effective activities of the Hindu Mahasabha did at last impress the Government with the fact that it was no longer possible to look upon the Congress as a representative Hindu body or to

refuse to recognize the Hindu Mahasabha as real representative Hindu body and as such the third indispensable political factor which must be taken into consideration in gauging the Indian opinion in its entirely. The Indian Government have thus unlearnt the old equation, 'Congress+ League ==Indian people and had to learn the new equation, 'The Hindu Mahasabha, the League and the Congress = the sum total of Indian representation.' This new equation does really respond to the present political situation in India and I think H.E. the Viceroy for having deliberately and decisively recognized the position of the Hindu Mahasabha as, at any rate, the most outstanding representative Hindu body, if not the only one. The Moslem League represents the Moslem interests, the Hindu Mahasabha the Hindu interests and the Congress, --even if it is in majority today represents none else but a hotch-potch political party, of the Congressite persuasion. But although the Indian Government have grasped this situation quite definitely, yet it seems that the British Government has not yet been able to learn the new equation or realize its full import; that is why the Secretary of State for India does still repeat the old phrase, the Congress and the League or the League and the Congress to express the sum total of the Indian public and when, of late, he did try to use the corrected version and in his speech in the Parliament last November, did use the new equation 'The Congress, the League and Hindu Mahasabha' he created an unconscious humour by trying to enlighten his Parliamentary audience by acquainting them with what this new stranger Hindu Mahasabha actually meant. The Secretary of State knew it that the League represented the Moslem and the Congress represented the Hindus and so very naturally was at a loss to explain to himself and to others whom this Hindu Mahasabha could represent! So the nearest explanation, he very naturally found, was to the effect that the Congress represented the Reformed Hindus in general and the Hindu Mahasabha must consequently be 'a body of the orthodox Hindus in particular' British Parliament as 'The Orthodox Hindu body.' Mr. Amery will himself feel amused if he learn that the very President of the Hindu Mahasabha for the last three years has been a notorious Reformer who, being a born Brahmin, interdines freely with the so-called untouchable in his individual capacity. The second time when Mr. Amery made a reference to the Hindu Mahasabha in a speech this month advocating the principle 'India first' he referred to it correctly. It is also our duty, to some extent, to acquaint the British public with the true nature and ideology of the Hindu Mahasabha movement by establishing well-organized and permanent center of Hindu propaganda in London. The British public as well as the Government must be made to realize that the Hindu Mahasabha is neither Orthodox nor Heterodox. In fact, has very little to do with any 'Doxy' at all. It is not primarily a Hindu Dharma Sabha, a religious body. The Hindu Mahasabha is the Hindu Rashtra Sabha, a body aiming to represent the Hindu Nation as a whole and includes all sections of Hindudom whether Orthodox or Heterodox.

This recognition by the Government of the Hindu Mahasabha as the most outstanding representative of the Hindu view and the consequent consultation which the Viceroy held with its president, is an event which is certain to have far-reaching consequences on the Hindu movement in general. because it implies the recognition by the Government of the fact that the Congress does not represent the Hindus as Hindus and that just as to ascertain the Moslem opinion they have to consult the Moslem League or any other such Moslem institution which is independent of the Congress, so also the

real Hindu interests, rights and claims could only be ascertained by consulting a representative Hindu body which is independent of and apart from the Congress. Once this principle is admitted as now it is done by the Government itself and Hindudom shakes of the grip that the Congress has tightened round its neck in virtue of no other right but that of an unchallenged usage, the political, social, religious and cultural interests of the Hindus as Hindus could no longer be betrayed by the Congress or go undefended by default. Henceforth in any conference whether a Round Table one or all parties one or a Constituent one that is called to determine constitutional questions regarding India as a whole, the Hindu Mahasabha is bound to be a party to it on an equal footing with the League and the Congress and unless and until this representative body of the Hindus does not sanction any step taken affecting Hindu interests the consent of the Congress alone can never be binding on the Hindis. Any Congress-League pact can no longer sell, mortgage or barter away Hindu rights unless and until the Hindu Mahasabha is a willing party to it.

It is to be noted in this connection that we admit and emphasize in our own interests that the Indian as well as the British Government have not only recognized the right of the Hindu Mahasabha to represent the Hindu view independently of the Congress but has tried to meet the wishes of the Mahasabha, at least on of the vital points affecting the Hindu interests. It cannot be gainsaid that the important speech which the Secretary of State delivered this month dealing with the question of the political and National integrity of India was chiefly the result of the pressure brought to bear by the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikh organization on the Government to declare in unambiguous courage or even contribute tacitly to the mischievous Moslem movement to vivisect the integrity of the Indian Nation, country and State as the Pakistan proposal demanded. The Moslem League had of course Godfathered the Pakistan scheme. The Congressite leaders of note, including all their Rajajis and Pradhanjis, had made it clear that they would not oppose it if the Moslems insisted on it. In fact, the Congressite Hindus had expressed their acquiescence in the Pakistan proposal with such an unabashed haste and obsequiousness as were never evinced by the British people or Government even though they at first did not like to veto it altogether. Even Mr. Amery in his speech only a month ago did not deliberately say anything to discourage the Moslems and had said many thing to encourage them tacitly in connection with their proposal to divide India into Hindu and Moslem Zones. Whence came then the pressure under which the Secretary of State thought it better to positively lay it down that the integrity of India must be inviolate in the interests of all and formed the first principle on which alone any solution of the Indian constitutional framing can be grafted? It was due to the Hindu Mahasabha, the Sikh organizations, the Sanatani Mandals, etc.—in short to the Hindu Sanghatanist party alone which agitated against the Pakistan scheme and demanded that the Government should make a clear declaration washing their hands clean of the Pakistan proposal. The Congress had of course uttered no word in the resolutions either of its Session or Working Committees against the Pakistan scheme. But the Hindu Mahasabha had emphatically made it a condition for its participation in the war efforts that the Government should declare its intention to stand by the indivisibility and integrity of the Indian Nation and the Indian State. Of course it must have been in response to this demand of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Hindu Sanghatanist party in general that Mr.

Amery had to change his ambiguous and dubious attitude which he had taken in his speech in November when he addressed the Parliament and to make this relatively very clear declaration in his speech this month preaching almost a religious sermon on 'India first.' In any case I have no hesitation in expressing my sincere appreciation of the clear attitude which Mr. Amery has taken on the firmness with which the Viceroy turned down a number of the anti-Hindu and aggressive demands which the League had advanced during the recent negotiations in connection with the war committee and the extension of the Executive Council. That also could not but the result of the negotiations carried on, on behalf of and the most legitimate and reasoned out attitude taken up by the Mahasabha in opposing those aggressive Moslem demands. The Congress had said nothing to denounce them and but for the opposition of the Hindu Mahasabha, in all probabilities the Moslems could have secured a very large portion of the ground which they aggressively claimed to their own.

The Hindus must get themselves cured of the malady of voting for the Congress at the polls if they want to safeguard their rights

Nevertheless, I must again categorically warn the Hindus that in spite of the fact that the Hindu Mahasabha has succeeded this year in capturing the political stage and stands there today on equal footing with the Congress and the League as the most outstanding representative of the Hindus, it would not be able to safeguard and promote Hindu interests to the fullest extent unless and until the Hindu electorate empowers it beyond cavil or criticism to function as the party in majority in the legislatures returned by the Hindu electorate on a Hindu ticket. So long as the Hindu electorate persists in the habitual act of political lunacy of voting for the congress tickets the Government cannot but accept the Congress to very large extent as representing Hindu opinion. But the Congress constituted as it is will never and can never represent even the legitimate Hindu interests so boldly and with such whole-hearted devotion to the Hindu cause as the Hindu representative, who are definitely pledged to the Hindu ticket, can do. if but the Hindu electorate returns the Hindu Sanghatanist candidates in an overwhelming majority at the polls to represent the Hindu cause to the legislatures and the local bodies, the Government shall have to recognize the Hindu Mahasabha or any consolidated Hindu Sanghataist party as the only representative of the Hindus without any further necessity of endless arguments. The Congress will automatically get deprived of any claim or power to play ducks and drakes with Hindu interests or even to speak in the name of the Hindus as Hindus. In fact, it can hardly have a chance of representing any part of the electorates at all so long as they are communally grouped which arrangement is inevitably certain to continue for at least a score of years to come. The Moslems will never elect a Moslem who is not pledged to a purely Moslem organization and in particulars are sure to reject a Moslem who stands on a Congress ticket. Their interests, therefore, will never be jeopardized. If the Hindus also elect only those Hindus who are pledged to a Hindu ticket, there will be no electorate left worth the name to vote for the Congress ticket. Even as it is the Congress Ministries and majority stand on the shoulder of the Hindu electorate alone.

A large section of the Congressite Hindus is also getting anxious of late to see the Hindu Mahasabha grow into the strongest political organization in India

Throughout this year hundreds of Hindu Congressites of note have personally Congratulate me as the President of the Hindu Mahasabha on the fact the Mahasabha should have been able to influence the Government in several details some of which are indicated above, and made them think twice before they allowed themselves to play into the hands of the Moslem League and at time to turn down their aggressively anti-Hindu demands. Why these Congressite gentlemen, who are Hindus to the core, denounce in their heart of hearts the constant betrayal by the Congress of Hindu interests and feel thankful that the Hindu Mahasabha should have grown strong enough to checkmate this Congress policy, do nevertheless continue to be under the thumb of the Congress and do not forthwith join the Hindu Mahasabha and add the weight of their influence and efforts to it,--is a question which must naturally rise in your mind. I may tell you that the only obstacle which stops them, at present, from leaving the Congress camp and going over to the Hindu Mahasabha fold is a wall, which though it is but an inch in height, proves still most effectively insurmountable to them. This inch-high but to them an insurmountable wall is but the Congress ticket! Which affords them the guarantee of being elected at any polls whether to the local bodies or the legislatures or assures them of some post or profit here or there. This again emphasizes the fact that if but the Hindu electorate is cured of the suicidal malady, grown into a habit with them, of voting blindly for the Congress ticket at the poll and realize that its interests demand its voting for the Hindu ticket, thousands of these our halting and hesitating Hindu brothers, who are now in the Congress, would pick up the courage of joining openly the ranks of the Hindu Mahasabha and leave the Congress,--a step which they feel it their duty to take but which their interests forbid them to take at a stroke. Of course, I should appeal to the conscience of thousands of these of our Hindu brothers that they themselves should set the example of placing their duty towards their racial, religious and national Being as Hindu far, above the wretched consideration of pelf, power or popularity. whatever be the result of this my appeal I cannot but thank this large number of our Hindu brothers who have this years come to sympathise with the Hindu Mahasabha and are now willing to extend whatever help they can render to increase its prestige and power in spite of their continuing in the Congress camp. Well begun is half done.

Thus it will be clear from the passing review of some of the leading events during the last year in connection with the Hindu Mahasabha movement and some of the details of its work during the last year, that on the whole the Hindu movement is forging ahead. But while we should know precisely where our strength lies and the point to which we have been able to progress we should also never lose sight of the defects and deficiencies we have yet to face. But in spite of this dictum, I have not deliberately made much of these defects and deficiencies and sad plight in which we Hindus find ourselves enmeshed on all sides for the simple reason that the dark side of the situation has been so patent and so persistently dinned into our ears even to the point of unbearable exaggeration by friends and foes alike that the Hindus have already come to suffer from

an almost incurable inferiority complex. Therefore, for the time being our motto should rather be thus that--

We should neither underrate our progress and strength nor should we exaggerate our weakness

We shall surely face our difficulties, organizational deficiencies, selfishness, want of cohesion and even of capacity of which we are already keenly conscious and staring them full in the face, shall try our best to overcome them. But the very strength to overcome them can only come from the correct estimation of those factors which are in our favour, of our real assets and resources which also are fortunately inexhaustible though as yet unrealized and untapped. That is why I have dealt with these latter in particular and placed them in bold relief.

Every Hindu must study at least the following books to know the real spring of the Pan-Hindu movement

Before I proceed to deal with other important points after closing this passing review of the last year's report, I feel it my duty to exhort my Hindu brethren in general and those belonging to this Madras presidency in particular, to study at least the following books before they from any opinion regarding the Pan-Saghatan movement. The ideology of Hindu Sanghatan is now fortunately propagated on scale wide enough in Maharashtra, Bengal and some provincial in the North, to enable the Hindus there to understand and appraise correctly much that I have said in the foregoing part of my address. But the Madras presidency has only recently come into contact with the Sanghatan movement. Consequently, a study of the fundamental principles and ideology on which the movement is based is an imperative necessity especially in the case of all those Hindus belonging to this presidency who wish to see the Sanghatan movement strongly entrenched in the South as well and also in the case of those, too who though they have not yet enlisted on its side, yet wish to assess it as a powerful current of political thought and activity which is bound to affect the future history of India whether one like it or not. With that end in view I recommend to all Hindus, even at the risk of a personal reference, the study of the following books to begin with:--

(1) 'Hindutva' by V.D. Savarkar. (2)'Hindu Sanghatan' (its ideology and immediate programme) published by Syt. N.V. Damle. (3) 'History of the Hindu Mahasabha, by Syt. Indraprakash. (4) 'Hindu-Pad-Padashahi' by V.D. Savarkar. (5) History of the Bhaganager Struggle' (Nizam civil Resistance movement) by Sty. S.R. Date.

Other important topics will be dealt with in separate resolutions to be passed at this session

Want of space and time compels me now to leave even some pressing questions such as the grievances of our Hindu brethren in Bengal, the Pakistan scheme, the Census, etc. etc. to be dealt with in the separate resolutions which are to be taken up

by this Session, especially in view of the fact that they will be better discussed and decided by those leaders who, having made a special study of them are intimately acquainted with the details in connection with them, and to proceed to deal with the foremost of topical questions : of how best we can respond top the war situation under the circumstances we are placed in : what should be our immediate policy and programme under the war conditions, so as to enable us to safeguard and even promote Hindu interests.

I want to make it clear before I deal with this question that the views, I shall express in connection with it, should be looked upon as my personal views even though I happen to express them from the Presidential chair. The delegates to this Session should not take those views as any authoritative announcement or recommendations, much less, as any dictation from their President. Although the President of such an organization as the Mahasabha is expected to recommend and at time even to dictate the policy or programme to be adopted and in general to lead the Assembly he presides over, still the outstanding function of such a President is, unless otherwise provided for, to act as the highest executive officer responsible to carry out the corporate decisions of the delegates and representative composing the deliberative body of that organization. With this conception of my duty as the President, I shall ever try my humble best to carry out your corporate decisions especially on this question even though they may differ widely from the views I personally hold and express and shall never look upon this difference as in any way involving the question of the Presidential prestige; and my sincere request to you all is also to the same effect that you should consider the views I express on this question as the views of one of the members rather than the views of the President of the Hindu Mahasabha.

The war situation and what should be our immediate policy and programme in response to it

Before I frame an actual programme I wish to draw your attention to some of the leading consideration which seem to me as best calculated to clear our vision and help to chalk out our line of action in this respect :--

(a) The first point to be noted is the fact that we are in no way morally bound to help any of the belligerents in this worldwide war whether it be England or Germany or Japan or Russia or China or any other country involved in the war, from only altruistic point of view as has been demanded from us not only by Great Britain and America but curiously enough by some of the Congressite leaders themselves and some other sections of the Indian public. The Hindu Mahasabha has already made its position clear on this point in a resolution passed by its Working Committee in September 1939, just within a month after the breaking out of the war, when Gandhiji, the de facto dictator of the Congress, was proclaiming in a flattering mood to the effect that he was not thinking of Indian independence then but was chiefly concerned with the safely of England and France and proposed to offer them unconditional help in this their crusade to save democracy in the world; when even Pandit Nehru was calling upon India to support these British and French democracies in the holy war they were carrying on against the

imperialistic German aggression on Poland and other free nations and while the leader of the Forward Block, the Communists, the Royists and other parties too were swearing by the anti-Imperialistic innocence free from all political greed on the part of Poland and Russia, the Hindu Mahasabha was about the only organized and outstanding political body in India which was firm and far-sighted enough to give correct lead to the country and to the Congress itself in ascertaining the real motives and objectives of the belligerents by asserting that none of the belligerent powers in Europe whether England, Germany, Poland, France or Russia, etc. had been actuated by any moral, democratic or altruistic considerations apart from its own self-interests and self- agrandisement. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India have more than once wanted us to believe in their various speeches that the only objective which had actuated Britain to continue the war had been 'to resist aggression whether against England or others, to defend great democratic ideals and without seeking any material advantage to lay the foundation of a better international system and to secure a real and lasting peace.' No better proof can be adduced to disprove these declarations as to the altruistic objectives of Great Britain in going to the war than the fact that they provided an occasion for Hitler to retort when he was asked by Chamberlain to free Poland that he would do so as soon as by Great Britain freed India. Verily does the adage say, ' thieves alone can trace the footstep of thieves best.'

(b) Consequently, the demand of the Congressite leaders like Pandit Nehru calling upon Great Britain to tell their general objectives in going to the war seems to me altogether idle. Firstly because Britain has been repeating those general objectives in the above strain ad nauseam and secondly, because the declaration of any general pious objectives cannot be worth a brass farthing unless they were immediately translated into actions wherever it was possible to do so, as England could have done it in the case of India by granting her a democratic and free constitution. But she did nothing of the sort. It is crystal clear that the general objectives of every one those countries engaged in the war or in fact every nation in the world today cannot be any other than to serve, safeguard and promote its own interests and extend its domination on as large a part of the world as it is able to do. if Hitler or Mussolini is out to win a new Empire because he wants more room on the globe for his people and power to expand Churchill and Stalin and Roosevelt want to secure and maintain their mastery over the Empires they already possess. The labels masking that mastery may be different. They may call it an Empire or a democratic republic or a Soviet republic but they all are out to thrust the will and the domination of their nations by force upon other people and their territories against their own will. Is not France a democratic republic? But it has robbed the freedom of so many countries in the world including our Pondicherry and chandra Nagar as to stand only second to England in the extant of colonial possession. Russia also is a republic and a Soviet republic to boot but extends its mastery almost over a continent conquered by force and has swallowed Poland and other small nations as greedily as Germany did.

© The same thing could be said about the 'Isms' each of them follow. Under whatever label their principle are trotted out whether as Bolshevism or Nazism or Fascism or Republicanism or Parliamentarianism their armed domination over other people they have conquered or wish to conquer does not and cannot savour of anything else but autocratic tyranny. Under such circumstances it would be the labels on their

principle and policies which all of them use with the only purpose to camouflage their real intentions. We should neither hate nor love Nazists or Bolshevists or Democrats simply on the ground of any theoretical or bookish reasons. There is no reason to suppose that Hitler must be a human monster because he passes off as a Nazi or Churchill is a demigod because he calls himself a Democrat. Nazism proved undeniably the savour of Germany under the set of circumstances Germany was placed in, Bolshevism might have suited Russia very well and we know what the English Democracy has cost us.

Political science and history both carry out the fact that no constitution or social system can be beneficial under all circumstances and for all alike. No people are so attached to democracy and to individual liberty as the British so far as their own Nation is concerned. But under war conditions did they not throw the democratical conception and constitution overboard in a day and vote for almost an undiluted dictatorship? Is not Mr. Chirchill today to England what Herr Hitler is to Germany, whose word is nearly the only law of the land? Only the last mail from England brought a leading paper in which a British poet sang the dirge of liberty in the following wailing notes, asking,

‘We know the war court is intact
‘But what of the Habeas Corpus Act
‘The Freedom’s isle they could not save
‘Till it was Magna Chart’s grave.’

Consequently, there is no meaning in calling upon Indians that it is their duty to fight Germany simply because they are Totalitarians and Nazis or to love the French or the English or the Americans simply because they are Democrats or Republicans. The sanest policy for us which practical politics demand is to befriend those who are likely to serve our country’s interests in spite of any ‘ism’ they follow for themselves and to befriend only so long as it serves our purpose. The Nazis and the Bolshevists were the most deadly enemies to each other on theoretical grounds but when on the given question of Poland and the general interests in this war they thought an alliance would serve the purpose of their nations better, they joined hands overnight in mutual friendship. Had England herself gone to war say with Russia and had Hitler taken the English side, can anyone doubt that England would have landed this very Nazi Germany as enthusiastically as they did the Imperialistic Germany in the days of Bismark when he invaded and crushed these very French people with whom England happened then to be inimical ever since the rise of the Republican Revolution in France to the fall of Napoleon III? Were not these very Americans although her own kith and kin, up by England before the world as the most faithless and treacherous type of humanity in spite against England and secured their independence? And yet now that a close alliance with America is almost the last refuge guaranteeing any certainty of saving England from a disastrous defeat, what desperate love has locked John Bull and Uncle Sam into an unseparable embrace! Nay, is not England already casting a wishful eye to woo the very Bolshevist Russia whom she cursed all along and if but the latter accepts England’s hand breaks off with Germany can

there be any doubt that England would immediately begin to bless the Bolshevist Government as 'our noble ally?'

(d) Nor should the bogey of the German's conquering India with which the English try to frighten us out of our wits be taken too seriously into consideration in framing our immediate policy in response to the war situation. As things stand it is not very likely, nay, it is altogether improbable that in this war England will be defeated so disastrously as to get compelled to hand over her India Empire, lock, stock and barrel into German hands. When Columbus, they say, was on the point of effecting his first landing America the natives should fight. Thereupon Columbus who knew that an eclipse of the sun was imminent, posed as a deputy sent by God and informed the natives that if they did not welcome him and help him in landing he would remove the Sun from the skies and an eternal darkness would set in. very soon the unsubmitting natives found to their utter consternation that the sun was really getting removed from the skies and darkness setting in. so they hurried on with fruits, flowers and gifts to the shore and welcomed and helped him to land. The threat which the English hold before the Indian eyes 'Help us or Hitler will set in' sounds as unreal, ridiculous and crafty as the ultimatum which Columbus delivered to the natives 'help me or eternal darkness will set in.' on the one hand the English are assuring the whole world that they are sure to crush Hitler in the long run while in the same breath tell us 'Help us or the Germans are sure to conquer India!' the fact is that if ever the English really come to feel so helpless that without our help they were sure to lose India they would offer us of themselves not only the Dominion Status but some of their colonies and possessions as they are doing today in the case of America.

Again, even if we take for granted for the sake of argument that the war takes such a turn as to enable the Germans to invade India there is no reason why we should only take that probability as certainty that the withdrawal of the British from India must only mean the occupation of her by Germany. In such world-earthquakes when Empires totter to pieces, history abounds with examples showing that subject nations often find their effective opportunity of achieving independence by playing one mighty enemy against the other to the annihilation of the aggressive might of both of them. Secondly, if the war cause the sudden withdrawal of the British from India without at a strike and brings us Hindus face to with only an internal anarchy and a consequent civil war with the Moslems which argument some people try to use as an alternate threat to frighten us into unconditional submission, there would be every chance that the Hindus will prove victorious in such a civil war and remain the undisputed masters in their own house.

In short, none of these Pseudo-moral hypothetical or problematical reasons trotted out mainly to dupe or frighten us with a view to exact unconditional and willing co-operation with the British war efforts should be allowed to from the only ground on which our war policy and programme can be based. We shall of course take these reasons also into consideration but only in so far as they are likely affect our own national interests in a matter-of-fact way. Framing our programme so far as it lies in our power our only consideration should be how best can we take advantage of the war situation to promote our own interests, how best can we ourselves in safeguarding and if possible even in promoting the Hindu cause.

In doing so we should take great care not to indulge in any idle, useless and even harmful bombast by making light of our overwhelming weakness on the one hand as well as not to underrate on the other hand whatever strength we even now possess or are likely to possess as the war situation develops from day to day. Within these limitations let us examine some of the leading courses of action which are either likely to present themselves for consideration or are actually suggest or acted upon by the different political parties in India.

An armed Revolt on a National Scale :--The first and the foremost effective course that would have presented itself to any subjected people as best calculated to assert its independence while its adversary was entangled into serious war with some of its powerful foes, would have naturally been to disorganized and disunited as we are, an armed revolt against England on a National scale is entirely ruled out under our present circumstances. And, secondly, the question of any armed resistance cannot even from a subject of discussion on an open platform of such institutions as the Hindu Mahasabha or the Congress or any other public and within the sphere of action they have chalked out for themselves under their present aims and objects. Consequently, not on any moral grounds but on the grounds of practical politics we are compelled not to concern ourselves on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha organization with any programme involving any armed resistance, under the present circumstances.

The Gandhist 'Satyagraha' Based on Absolute Non-Violence :-On the other hand no programme based on the monomaniacal principle of absolute non-violence is worth a moment's consideration. If the first extreme remedy of an armed rising on a national scale is ruled out on grounds of practical politics, this other extreme of absolute non-violence condemning all armed resistance even to an incorrigible aggression must be ruled out not only on practical grounds alone but even on moral grounds.

Without going into deep waters for want of space and time to ascertain what constitutes the criterion of a moral action, whether morality derives its sanction from intuition or Revelation or Exigency, the most practical factor and one which ought to be common to all of these school of moral thought and which alone can practically serve to distinguish a moral act from an immoral one, a virtue from a vice, the good from the bad is the utilitarian principle that everything that contributes under a given set of circumstances to human good is moral, a virtue and the opposite is immoral, a vice under those given circumstances; that all morality is essentially human. Judged from this most practical and yet fundamental test, the principle of absolute non-violence condemning all armed resistance even to incorrigible aggression can not but be ruled out as absolutely impracticable, anti- human and therefore positively immoral. If a serpent finds its way slyly into a pack of children sleeping soundly or a mad dog rushes all of a sudden foaming with insane exasperation into a crowded fair and you do not kill it there and then even if you can, on principle of absolute non-violence, you abet the murderous violence which the serpent or the mad dog commits by biting innocent human beings to death, you are criminally doubly guilty in refusing to save the life of human beings to spare the life of a serpent or a dog and leave it free to take more human lives at leisure as occasion arises. On the contrary if you kill the serpent and the dog there and then you are still

guilty of violence from the point of your own principle of absolute non-violence killing no living being. Even this one violence is not only absolutely impracticable but anti-human and therefore absolutely immoral. What holds good in these individual cases does also hold good in matters affecting nations. It must be noted in this connection that even those religions which put the virtue of non-violence, Ahimsa, above all virtues had to admit exceptions and did not or could not assert that absolute non-violence condemning all armed resistance whatever even to incorrigible aggression constituted a virtue.

Relative **Ahimsa** ***is a virtue; but absolute*** **Ahimsa** ***a crime***

Of course, relative non-violence on the whole is doubtless a virtue so pre-eminently contributing to human good as to from one of the fundamentals on which human life whether individual or social can take its stand and evolve all social amenities. But absolute non-violence that is non-violence under all circumstances and even instead of helping human life whether individual or national it causes an incalculable harm to humanity as a whole ought to be condemned as a moral perversity and is on the whole condemned likewise by those very religious and moral schools which lauded relative non-violence as the first and foremost human virtue.

The ahimsa of the Jains and Buddhists is opposed to this Gandhist Doctrine of ahimsa.

It should be noted in particular that the ahimsa preached by the Buddhist or the Jain Religion is directly opposed to the absolute Ahimsa or the absolute non-violence as Gandhiji interprets it condemning all armed resistance under all circumstances. The very fact that the Jains reared up kingdom, produced heroes and heroines who fought armed battles and Jain Commanders-in-chief leading Jain armies without being ostracized by the Jain Acharyas prove this point to the hilt that the Ahimsa of the Jains cannot be the rabid Ahimsa of the Gandhist school. Nay, the Jain scriptures openly assert that armed resistance to incorrigible aggression is not only justifiable but imperative. To save a saint from being murdered outright by a violent and armed sinner, Ahimsa itself requires that the sinner should be killed there and then if that act alone could save the life of the saint. Such a Himsa is in itself an act of Ahimsa and the Jain scriptures defend it, almost in the words used by Manu himself to defend it, that the sin of killing in such a case recoils on the murdered himself whose act was responsible for the reaction, 'मन्युस्तन्मन्युमर्हति! Bhagwan Buddha also gave the same ruling when questioned by the leaders of clan as to whether they should take to armed resistance as soldiers against the armed aggression, of another clan. 'Soldiers may fight against the armed aggression,' said Bhagwan Buddha, 'without committing a sin if but they fight with arms with arms in defence of a righteous cause.'

The defensive sword was the first saviour of man!

Call it a law of nature or the will of God as you like, the iron fact remains that there is no room for absolute non-violence in nature. Man could not have saved himself

from utter extinction nor could have but led the precarious and wretched life of a coward and a worm had he not succeeded in adding the strength of artificial Arms to his natural arms. In those Geological periods when he evolved to manhood he was surrounding by such ferocious brute and serpentine order that he found himself, individual to individual, the weakest being; physically the most unfit to survive in contest during the struggle for existence that was raging round in the formidable primitive jungles which was his first home. He had neither poisonous fangs nor tusks nor horns nor blood-thirst claws. We call the cow as physically and by nature the most harmless and the most incapable of self-defence. But even a cow could have cowed down a man in a naked physical combat and even killed him by piercing her pointed horns in his stomach as none of his natural organs were a match for them. It was only his capacity to invent artificial weapons to add to the strength of develop that man could cope with tigers and lions and wolves and serpents and crocodiles and could snatch the mastery of the earth and water from his wild enemies. Throughout the Paleolithic and Neolithic periods, the bronze age and the iron age man could maintain himself, multiply and master this earth chiefly through this armed strength. Verily the Defensive Sword was the first Saviour of man

The belief in absolute non-violence condemning all armed resistance even to aggression evinces no mahatmaic saintliness but a monomaniacal senselessness!

What held good in man’s struggle with the brute world continued to be true throughout his social struggle, the struggle of clan against clan, race against race, nation against nation. The lesson is branded on every page of human history down to the latest page that nations which, other thing equal, are superior in military strength are bound to survive, flourish and dominate while those which are militarily weak shall be politically subjected or cease to exist at all. It is idle to say, we shall and a new chapter to history with a new lesson. You may perhaps add something new to history but you cannot add to or take away a syllable form the iron law of Nature itself. Even today if man hands over a blank cheque to the wolf and the tiger to be filled in, with a human pledge of absolute non-violence, no killing of a living being no armed forces to be used, then the wolves and the tigers will lay waste all your Mandirs and mosques, and culture and cultivation, Aramas and Ashrams—finish man Saint and sinner alike before a dozen years pass by! In face of such an iron law of nature can anything be more immoral and sinful than to preach a principle so anti-human as that of absolute non-violence condemning all armed resistance even to aggression?

And yet it is curious to find that even those who condemn this doctrine of absolute non-violence as impracticable seem still to believe that though impracticable for us worldly men, this doctrine is nevertheless highly moral and evince some Mahatmaic excellence, some superhuman sanctity. This apologetic tone must be forthwith changed. It raises these prophets of this eccentric doctrine in their own estimation and makes them feel they had really invented some moral law raising human politics to some divine level. Seeing that even their opponents on practical grounds attribute to them a superhuman saintliness owing to the very eccentricity of their doctrine, they grow, perhaps unconsciously all the more eccentric and have the insane temerity to preach in all

seriousness to the Indian public that 'even the taking up of lathi is sinful. The best means of freeing India from the foreign yoke is the spinning-wheel. Not only that but even after India becomes independently there would not be any necessity of maintaining a single armed soldier or single warship to protect her frontiers. If but India believes and acts in the spirit of such absolute non-violence maintaining no army, no navy or no air force, no nation in the world shall invade her and even if some armed nations did invade her they could be easily persuaded to fall back as soon as they are confronted by the unarmed army of our Desha Sevikas singing to the tune of the spinning-wheel musical appeals to the conscience of the invading forces.' When things have come to such a pass that such quixotic souls are sent as accredited spokesmen by the credulous crowd to the round table conferences and even in foreign lands such senseless proposals are seriously advanced by them in the name of the Indian Nation itself in so many words to the great merriment of the foreign statesmen and the general public in Europe and America the time has surely come to take this doctrinal plague quite seriously and to counteract it as quickly as possible. We must tell them in no apologetic language but in firm accents that your doctrine of absolutely immoral. It is not an outcome of any saintliness but of insanity. It requires no ingenuity on your part to tell us that if but all men observe absolute non-violence, there will be no war in the world and no necessity of any armed forces. Just as it live forever mankind will be free from death. We denounce your doctrine of absolute non-violence not because we are less saintly but because we are more sensible than you are. Relative non-violence is our creed and therefore, we this faith that Hindus worship the arms as the Symbols of the Shakti, the Kali, and Guru Govindsingh sang his hymn to the Sword. सुखसंताकरणम् दुर्मतिहरणम् खलदलदलनम् जयतेगम् ॥ and we also join with the great Guru in the refrain and sing with him, 'Hail thee, Sword.'

It is in this spirit that I want all Hindus to get themselves re-animated and re-born into a martial race. Manu and shri Krishna are law givers and Shri Rama the Commander of our forces. Let us re-learn the manly lessons they taught us and our Hindu Nation shall prove again as unconquerable and conquering a race as we proved once when they led us: conquering those who dared to be aggressive against us and refraining ourselves, not out of weakness but out of magnanimity, from any unjustifiable designs of aggression against the unoffending.

It goes then without saying that the Hindu Sanghatanists actuated by such a faith can never associated with the Gandhist 'Satyagraha' which demands freedom to preach this immoral principle of absolute non-violence condemning all armed resistance even to alien aggression, as it is highly detrimental to our Hindu interests in particular. It is indeed more harmful to Hindu interests than it can ever be to the interests of the Government. Crafty as the British policy has ever been, they like to some extent that some one should always be preaching to the Hindus that the spinning qualities are more spiritual than the fighting once and that the highest human virtue consists in getting killed by any invading aggressors than killing them in self-defence. It pays the British to some extent. I shall not be surprised if the Government allow the Gandhists to preach the doctrine of absolute non-violence provided they do not say a word against the present war. In fact some such compromise was suggested by the Government and may be accepted by the Gandhists later on just to flourish it in the face of the public as a trophy

won by their Satyagraha. But even if the Government allow the preaching of this doctrine denouncing all armed strength, then in that case it will be the duty of the Hindu Sanghatanists themselves to offer all legitimate opposition to this vicious principle in their own interests and on their own account from the Sanghatanists platform. We must whip up military enthusiasm amongst the Hindus. That is the most crying need of today and must from the chief plank of the Hindu Sanghatanists platform.

The militarization and industrialization of the Hindus must constitute our immediate objective under the war conditions

Thus after taking stock of all other courses and factors for and against us, I feel no hesitation in proposing that the best way of utilizing the opportunities which the war has afforded to us cannot be any other than to participate in all war efforts which the Government are compelled about the militarization and industrialization of our people. Fortunately for us facilities are thrown open to us in this direction within a single year in consequence of the war which we could not find during the last fifty years and could not have hoped to secure in ordinary course by empty protests and demands for the next fifty years to come. Owing to the Gandhist lead the Congress had neglected the question of fostering military strength of our people, to such an extent that even the wordy resolutions which the Congress used to pass while it was under the lead of those who were called Moderates but who in this particular respect were more Extremists and far-sighted than this spineless school of Gandhist non-resisters, used to pass demanding the repeal of the Arms Act and Indianization of the Army, were tabooed for the last twenty years under Gandhiji's pressure on the Congress platform. Even when the Congress was in power it did not take a single step to promote or even to safeguard the military interests of our people. But throughout the last twenty years the Moslems, who cared a fig for any non-violent, non-resisting, non-co-operation nonsense in which the Congress kept indulging under Gandhiji's pressure, almost monopolized recruitment into the army and armed police. It was only a few Hindu Mahasabhait leaders like our reserve Dr. Moonje and Bhai Paramanand who were trying their best to counteract the senseless policy of the Congress owing to which the Hindus alone had to suffer and lose whatever numerical strength they had in the army. Not only that sophistical teaching of the so-called Satyagraha creed sought to kill the very martial instinct of the Hindu race and had succeeded to an alarming extent in doing so. That was the reason why throughout my tours as the President of the Hindu Mahasabha I made it my duty to put this point above all others and tried my best to give a fillip to military awakening amongst the Hindus by addressing thousands and thousands of Hindu youths from Punjab to Madras with no negligible success. But I was always at a loss to know how we Hindu Sanghatanists can find immediate ways and means to impart to our young Hindu generation the practical and up-to-date military training. Just then the war broke out and the British Government, to serve their own interests, were compelled to raise new military forces in India on a large scale. Naturally, the Hindu Mahasabha with a true insight into practical politics decided to participate in all war efforts of the British Government in so far as they concerned directly with the question of the Indian defence and raising new military forces

in India. I emphatically maintain that the results of that policy even within a years of its trial are positively encouraging.

Results in participating in war efforts satisfactory

In examining these results we must bear in mind that the British are raising these Military forces and encouraging industrial development so far as it helps their war efforts with no altruistic motives of helping the Indians. They are doing whatever they have to do to help themselves. We are also participate in these war efforts or at any rate are not out to oppose them, with no intention of helping the British but of helping ourselves. I have put the situation almost bluntly in the above manner to disarm the political folly into which the Indian public is accustomed to indulge in thinking that because Indian interests are opposed to the British interests in general, any step in which we join hands with the British Government must necessarily be an act of surrender, anti-national, of plying into the British hands and that co-operation with the British Government in any case and under all circumstances is unpatriotic and condemnable. It is all the more amusing to find that this spirit of silly bravado is more rampant amongst those very Congressites who did not hesitate to serve the British Government by conducting their Provincial Ministries swearing loyalty and allegiance to the British Domination in the oath of allegiance which they had to take; who wept over the fancied destruction of Westminster Abbey, only the other day and had serve the British Government as their recruiting officers during the last war and are even now promising full co-operation to the British, if but they get some of their faddist demands satisfied and assure the British that they would do nothing even as it is to embarrass the British. But the Hindu Sanghatanists at any rate must realize the difference between a senseless bravado and real act bravery. As I have explained above in para © how in practical politics, alliances are to based on any point of common interests in spite of the fact of the conflict in all others interests between the allied parties. Who can say that Hitler or Stalin can be wanting in bravery or can be silly enough to play into the other’s hand and yet did not both of them join in alliance, in spite of their opposing interests on all others points, as soon as they found that their mutual interests coalesced on some points during this war? One who is always afraid of being duped by others must be a simpleton indeed deserving to be duped all round. The Hindu Sanghatanists are so conscious of their political wisdom and so self-confidence that they can take good care of themselves against being duped even by the crafty statesmanship of Great Britain and therefore feel no hesitation and ought to feel no hesitation in extending a whole-hearted participation in the war effects of Great Britain if but it serve their own purpose better than any others course.

Examining from this point of view the results of the Hindu Mahasabha’s policy of participating in the war efforts so far as the militarization of the Hindus is concerned, we noted that during the last year one hundred thousand new recruits were enlisted in the Indian Army. While in the old army the proportion of the Moslem had risen in some parts even to 75% we find amongst these new recruits, there are nearly sixty thousand Hindu and thirty thousand Moslems. The strength of the air forces also is trebly increased and is being daily increased. It is very encouraging a fact that the Hindu are evincing a special interests and ability in the aircraft and are getting themselves

enlisted in large numbers in the air forces and many of them are already serving on the war front and partaking in actual air fights against the seasoned air forces of Germany. In the naval forces, it is regrettable to note that the Hindus counted for nothing up to this time. In the very small number of Indians which was somehow connected with the navy, more than 75% were Moslems. Consequently, strong representations were made by the Hindu Mahasabha during this year against this partiality of the Government. The seafaring and sea-fighting Hindu castes on the Konkan coast in particular who distinguished themselves so valourously in the days of the Maratha Empire as to inflict several serious defeats on the English sea-forces but who have been neglected of late by England perhaps owing to the self-same old grudge the English bear to them, were roused from their lethargy and were made to demand entry into the naval forces. Hundreds of meetings were organized by the Hindu Mahasabha this year in the villages and towns which were attended by very large numbers of these castes : the Agris, the Bhandaris, the Kolis and others; and petitions signed by thousands of them were submitted to the Government demanding entry into the naval forces and the opening of shipyards and naval based on the Konkan coast. In response to this agitation on the part of the Hindu Mahasabhaits on this point throughout India, the Government have promised to recruit Hindus in naval service without any distinction and have also admitted the fact that the Hindus are showing more inclination to take to that line than they were doing formerly. In order to meet the large demand for technicians to work the new factories stated on a very large scale to manufacture military equipment, rifles and even tanks, the Government has already made arrangements for fifteen thousands Indian candidates to be trained immediately as technicians. All experts to train them who were available in India are called upon to take up the work and in addition to them, technical expert in up-to-date war crafts are requisition by the Indian Government from England as well. Besides, this large number of Indian workers and technical hands are to be sent to England to receive the training in up-to-date methods. They will all stay together with the British technical hands and labourers, will receive pay on the same scale and will be treated on an equal footing. The cost of it all will also be borne by the British Government. As the raising, equipping and training of the new army of lakh of Indian soldiers is already substantially complete, the Government has only recently announced the expansion of the Indian Army top half a million men of all arms. Thus nearly two lakhs of Indians would be immediately recruited and the ever increasing necessity under war pressure is sure to compel the Government to recruit some five lakhs of Indian soldiers before long bringing up the total strength of the Indian army to a million soldiers properly trained, equipped and even mechanized to bring them up to an up-to-date efficiency. Then again we must take into consideration the large increase in the armies of the different Hindu States that has been sanctioned by the Government under war pressure. Not less than forty battalions have already been sent to the different fronts of the war and are taking their lessons in actual fighting on modern lines. The old rusty outlook of the forces of the Hindu States has already been transformed as to present a smart well armed and well equipped front.

The sudden increase in the army from some two lakhs to ten lakhs of Indian soldiers was bound to create an enormous demand for commissioned officers. So the old policy of army Indianization by the introduction of special Indianised units has been scrapped and all units have been opened to Indian officers recruitment. The Viceroy's

commissioned officers too have been reintroduced in the Indianised units and thus all units are placed on the same footing. There is consequently an enormous field opened out for Indians to serve as officers in the army in all capacities and on equal footing with the British officers who up to this time enjoyed a sort of monopoly in officers in the regular army to a million men, the Indian territorial forces also are soon to be re-touched, more efficiently equipped and expanded.

So far as the question of the compulsory military education to be introduced into the high school and colleges is concerned the Indian Government is still following obstructive tactics. But it must be noted that the Senates of almost all leading Universities in India have demanded during this year that compulsory military training must forthwith be introduced and are already knocking at the gates of Government which as the war pressure goes on increasing are sure to yield and get thrown open.

Only a year ago the Indian Government used to trop out the excuse that it would take at least fifty years to train up the Indians who had lost all military instinct to form efficient army officers by their own men on such a large scale as that. But now they have suddenly discovered that Indians like other human beings in Europe could be trained as efficiently soldiers and officers in lakhs within a few months and could fight on equal terms with European armies on the European fields. Verily necessity is mother of invention and as the necessity grows more pressing under the international political complications, England shall have to learn that not only a million Indians but a billion Indians are capable of being trained as soldiers and officers as efficient as the European ones within a couple years to come.

The manufacture of war materials on an enormous scale is also being introduced in India which has already afforded and is sure to afford as days pass by an opportunity for thousands of our artisans, craftsmen, workers and technicians to get specialized in turning out up-to-date rifles, tanks, ammunition and even machines required in connection with them.

Then, again, whatever be their reluctance, the Indian Government has at last been compelled to permit Sheth Walchand Hirachand who must be specially congratulated on his untiring efforts and able lead in this respect, to open a shipyard at *Bezwada* financed by Indian capital, worked by Indian labour under Indian management. Permission for opening a factory to manufacture aeroplanes on a large scale has also been granted to Sheth Walchand Hirachand who has already selected a sight at Bangalore and is sure to set it going at full speed with his characteristic promptness and efficiency. The Government has already lodged an order for crore of rupees of planes.

With regard to large industries other than the war industries suffices to say that this year has given a fillip to many a chemical industry, the paper industry etc. etc. within a couple of years if but the war pressure is continued we are sure to record an industrial progress which otherwise even a dozen years would not have enabled us to as Government stood always in our way to economical self-sufficiency. But not that military exigencies have forced England to raise India to a self-sufficient economical and military unit,--a center commanding the defences of the whole Eastern part of their Empire from Egypt to Australia, they are compelled to see that the key industries and even industries

in general are started and flourish in this country to such a wide extent that if the connection of the Eastern part of their Empire is at least temporarily cut off from the Western Empire, they may be able to depend for all the sinews of war chiefly on India which abounds in the resources of men and materials.

A serious question

Now I ask you all whether you could have ever been able to bring about such rapid militarization and industrialization of the country within a year out of your own sources? Could have the Hindu Mahasabha or the Congress or any such public organization ever been able to recruit, train and equip half a million of our men and send them to learn real fighting on the field on the strength of its own resources? And even if you had aimed to do so, would the British Government have ever allowed you to do so? We could not have conducted even lathi clubs on such a large scale. even last year were we not as alive to the urgency of militarization of our Hindu people? But were we not unable even last year even to run half a dozen institutions to impart military education even to a few hundred Hindu youths? And now that the war has opened out an opportunity for us to send hundreds of thousands of Hindus to the army, the navy, the air services and to get them fully trained, equipped and armed as up-to-date soldiers and commanding officers and for building shipyards, aeroplane factories, gun factories, ammunition factories and get thousand of our mechanics trained into war technical experts,--hall we turn our back on all these facilities, refuse to join the army or to declined to participate in the manufacture of our materials simply because some body will curse it as an act of violence? If we do so we shall but deserve even ourselves to be bracketed with the fool and the booby.

Let us note also that these half a million or million of men who are finding employment in the army and thousands of workers and artisans and technicians and specialist who will get work and secure post in the war material factories and the industries made possible by the war will bring food and clothing and necessaries of life, to at least fifty lakhs of persons belonging to the very class who are at present suffering most on account of chronic unemployment? Will it not lessen the unbearable burden that at present falls on our agriculture classes who have to depended on the proceeds of land in spite of its daily diminishing returns?

The advent of Japan near our Frontiers must compel England to depend on India for military help to an ever-increasing extent

The most important point that I want you to bear in mind in this connection is to the effects that the British Government has not initiated this policy of militarizing our Nation to do which we all know how deadly opposed they were till only the last year, with the only view of helping themselves in the present war in Europe. So long as only European wars were concerned the British knew that they could not depend much on India. Nor did they ever want to do so. Their policy in the European wars hand for the last two hundred years or so been simple. They used to get a group of European nations

on their side, make it fight with the other group of European nations opposed to them. Even if they wanted to get help from India in men and materials it would have been impossible and would not have also paid to transfer millions of men and enormous war materials to boot, to Europe. That was the reason why England did not run the risk of militarizing India whom she naturally did not like to trust, on such a large permanent scale as she is trying to do now. But the longish shadow of the dwarfish Jap that has of late fallen on the very Bay of Bengal constitutes a new menace to the English supremacy in India which requires a new military policy quite opposite in some respects to the one which England followed up to this time as denoted above. The ever-advancing forces of Japan with a declared objective of freeing Asia from European influence has naturally scared England and made her realize in all seriousness that a war with Japan in the near future is in all probability inevitable. The British statesmanship, far-sighted as it usually is, realized this also that if ever war broke out with Japan, India it self must be center of gravity of all war preparations, the central depot of war resources in men and ammunitions. If there was an impossibility of transferring large armies from India to England in the cases of the European wars, the difficulty now was exactly the opposite to it. Nay, England could not under present circumstances afford to send any substantial number of British forces or quantity of war material to India while such respectable foes as Hitler, Mussolini or Stalin were wanting to pounce on England herself. If Japan is to be fought out then the millions of men required for that fight must be raised and all the war materials must be manufactured in India itself. This new factor, therefore, is bound to render England more and more dependent on India military help and therein lies the guarantee for us also that the militarization of our nation will continue on a far larger scale as years pass by and Great Britain is sure to extend all possible facilities for developing our military capacity, if but we also extend an enthusiastic participation in her war efforts. Chances are that an army with the strength of a couple of millions shall have to be raised, manned by Indians under Indian officers as rapidly as Japan succeeds in advancing near our Frontiers.

Now again, I ask you, shall we lose this golden opportunity to acquired this military strength which our interests also demand and British interests compel Britain to help us in that task simply because some faddists call it an act of violence or some fools condemns it as co-operation with Imperialism? Or shall we take the wisest step, of allying ourselves with Britain on this point alone and to the extent to which it serves Hindu interests and flood the new army to be raised with Hindu Sanghatanists and re-animate our race with martial spirit and regain the military strength and status we had lost?

Of all courses open to us present, I emphatically recommend to you this course : that the Hindus can best utilize the war situations by helping on part the militarization and industrialization of India which the British on their side are also eager to effect for their own interests. And again, just think of the fact, that even if you Hindu refuse to join the army or the navy or the air force or the factories of war materials, the only immediate results will be that the Moslems will get into the saddle and instead of weakening the British Government you will find that you have strengthened a second enemy who is no less bent upon subjecting you helping in your own land,

The so-called Satyagraha of the Congress can only

Serve as stunt for the elections at best

Again, what is the alternate programme to one adopted by the Hindu Mahasabha? Shouting some slogans and going into the jail? I appreciate the motive of those patriotic men in the Congress; I sympathise with their suffering. But I must plainly state, that they have made a mess of all political movements and the Satyagraha they have now launched can bring no substantial good to the country. It is to some extent useful and was perhaps meant to serve as a stunt for the next elections. Are the Hindu Sanghatanists going to adopt a counter-stunt? We would have been justified in doing that too. But the Hindu Mahasabha as an organization cannot do the two things at one and the same time. If it participates in the war efforts with a view to reap the most substantial benefits in militarizing the Hindus, and allies itself with the Government to that extent, it cannot as an organization take to any civil resistance to the Government, which act will directly prove detrimental to our first and greater objective. You cannot both eat and have the cake. Of course, the Hindu Mahasabha can resort to Civil Resistance, if the issue is more profitable than the two great objectives which it seeks to gain, viz. militarization and industrialization.

The Hindusabhaits are full of fight

I have consulted almost all leading workers and branches of the Mahasabha and it was very encouraging to find that the Mahasabha and especially the youthful workers were extremely anxious to launch a fighting programme, but only in views of the fact that the Congress has adopted one. Their chief anxiety seems to be to take to civil resistance as a counter-stunt to defeat the purpose of the Congress to win the next elections by the cheap method of courting jail under the A and B classes. But we should consider first, why do we Hindusabhaits want to win the elections? Of course, to serve the Hindu interests best. Now nobody realize the importance of winning the election more than I do. but, if the Hindu interests are likely to suffer more by running after the elections, is it not our duty to discard them rather than sacrifice Hindu circumstances of participating in the war efforts with the two objectives mentioned above, is likely to suffer by civil resistance on issues which do not serve the Hindu interests in any substantial manner and if the elections could only interests in any substantial manner and if the elections could only be won by any such harmful means, it is our clear duty to lose the elections rather try to win them by pandering to the follies of the electorate to the determent of the Hindu cause. The Nizam Civil Resistance movement affords a sufficient and the latest proof to convince any sensible electorate that the Hindi Mahasabhaits are even braver than the Congressites even if going to jail is to be taken as the only test of bravery and patriotism. The thousands of Hindu sanghatanists who braved ‘Lathi Mars’ in the Nizam jails can surely stand the ‘Laddu Mar’ in the A, B, and even the C classes in the British jails standing shoulder to shoulder with their Congressite co-sufferers. If the Hindu Sanghatanists were only out to win elections with a view a to from ministries and gain pelf and power, they could have very easily done it by changing a cap as so many other people have done it. But, we chose deliberately to stand by Hindu interests even at the risk of power, pelf popularity. As I am convinced that the great facilities which we have secured and are sure to secure on a larger and larger scale for militarization and

industrialization of Hindudom by participating in the war efforts of the Government are over-whelming more beneficial to the Hindus than any issue we can win by any slogan shouting civil resistance, I am quite prepared to lose the next election also. It is more patriotic to lose an election in trying to lead the electorate on a right path than to win it by pandering to their prejudices and follies.

The Government has in fact met the demands put Forward by the Hindu Mahasabha at the out-break of the war in a substantial measure

I must make it clear here that the demands forwarded by the Hindu Mahasabha were not slighted by the Government. We asked them to make a declaration that within one year's time after the cessation of the war Dominion Status should be granted. Now, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State have both made it clear so far as words can make it clear, that India shall be raised to the position of a self-governing unit of the commonwealth which they call British but I claim must be called Indo-British, on equal footing even with Great Britain herself immediately after the war at the shortest interval possible. We wanted a word and they have given us a word. We know that the taste of the pudding is in its eating. But, then the question can arise when the promise is to be translated into action. Secondly, we wanted a declaration from the Government that they would not encourage the scheme of breaking up the integrity of the Indian State. As I have shown above under the pressure of the Hindu Mahasabha alone, Mr. Amery has made a clear declaration to that effect in his speech on 'India First'. So far as our military demands were concerned, they are almost all being acted upon in a large measure at least up till now. The military service is thrown open to all castes and creeds alike and other facilities we have got are already dealt with in other parts of my speech. The Hindu Mahasabha is already recognized by the Government as the foremost representative body of the Hindus. The only point on which the Government is still harping is the fact that they are throwing the responsibility of framing a constitution on the Indians and insisting with their tongue in their cheeks 'unless you all Indian parties, the minority and the majority, produced a compromise unanimously voted for, we cannot thrust any constitution on you of our framing.' But we shall fight out this spacious argument in right time. Nay, there is every likehood that on this point too, the Government will have to yield to the most reasonable demands of the Hindu Mahasabha. In short, I find no detail or issue important enough to compel us to resort to civil resistance at the sacrifice of the important facilities we have gained and the opportunity has presented itself to us enabling us to effects the militarization of the Hindu people to a substantial extent.

Consequently, I for one, recommend emphatically the following programme on which all Hindu Sanghatanists should concentrate their energy. Of course, I put it forward as my personal view and leave you entirely free to come to any corporate decision you choose, which decision I shall try my best to carry out as your chief executive officer, whether the decision coincides with my programme or not. I need not mention that this programme was already adopted by the Working Committee held on the 21st of November last.

I also make it clear that although I wish that the Hindu Mahasabha as an organization ,should stick to this programme as its immediate line of action, yet if some Hindu Sanghatanists find out a more effective way of fighting on their own account for the Hindu cause, no one shall be gladder than myself. The Hindu Mahasabha also cannot but wish that the younger generation should prove braver than the present one. But it should prove wiser too.

This programme which I recommend for your adoption in my personal capacity is, of course, meant to be an immediate one. If some new factor arises demanding a new solution, we too shall promptly chalk out a different line of action in response to it.

Immediate programme

This immediate programme could be roughly outlined thus :-

(a) To secure entry for as many Hindu recruits as possible into the army, nave and the air forces.
(b) To utilize all facilities that are being thrown open to get our people trained into military and mechanical manufacture of up-to-date war materials.
(c) To try to make military training compulsory in colleges and high schools.
(d) To intensify the organization of the Ram Sena.
(e) To join the civic guard movement with a view to enable to defend our own people against foreign invasion or internal anarchy, provided always that the civic guards are not used against any patriotic political movement in India or in any activities detrimental to the legitimate interests of the Hindus.
(f) To start new industries on large scales to capture the market where foreign competition is found eliminated.
(g) To boycott foreign articles to defeat the entry of new foreign competitors.
(h) To set on foot an All-India movement to secure the correct registration. In the coming census, of the popular strength of the Hindus including Tribal Hindus such as Santhals, Gonds, Bhils, etc. ,and to secure their enlistment as Hindus instead of as Animists or Hill Tribes and by taking every other step necessary to secure the object in view.

These few items will suffice to illustrate the lines on which the Hindu Sanghatanists all over India should concentrate their attention in the near future.

23rd Session Bhagalpur – 1941

Comrades in the Hindu Cause,

I acknowledge gratefully the honour you have done to me and the trust you have placed in me in offering the Presidentship of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha this year for the fifth time in an unbroken succession. I had even last year tendered my resignation of this high post twice and requested you all in view of my failing health and in the interest of the Hindu cause to spare me and to entrust the lead of Hindu Mahasabha in some worthier and stronger hands. But owing to the most cordial pressure of my comrades all over India and the behest of the All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, I continued to shoulder the responsibility of the Presidential office and tried my individual best to justify and deserve the overwhelming confidence and love which the Hindu Sanghatanists world all over India and even outside continued to cherish towards me. It is a matter of public knowledge that this year also when the time for electing the President for the next year drew near, I had made it clear to almost all provincial leaders and workers that this time at any rate I should be allowed to withdraw from the Presidential panel. I was even determined to resign after the election, - but just then the Government made it clear that they were not prepared to raise the ban on the Annual session of the Hindu Mahasabha at Bhagalpur. This Government ban compelled me also to banish altogether from my mind the thought of resigning the Presidential office. This ban constituted such an intolerable, uncalled for and unjustifiable humiliation to the Hindu honour as to render it imperative on the part of every Hindu Sanghatanist to try his level best to get it removed by all legitimate means within his or her reach. My duty also as the elected President for the very session at Bhagalpur was clear. It was to stick to my guns. I have, consequently, consented even willingly to shoulder the responsibility of the Presidentship and the leadership of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha for the fifth time for the ensuing year. May I be able to serve the Hindu cause to the best of my abilities and so unsparingly as to deserve the honour you have all done to me and the confidence you have all placed in me by calling upon me once again to lead the Hindu Movement.

The case of this unjust, humiliating and even illegal Government ban

When at Madura the last session of the Hindu Mahasabha decided to hold the Session in Bihar and when after surveying different places in Bihar, the Reception Committee decided to hold the Session at Bhagalpur, even the Government must admit that there could not have been any least intention on the part of the Mahasabha to disturb the communal peace of the particular section of Moslems residing at Bhagalpur during the Bakr-Id festival. The Bakr-Id is observed all over India by the Moslems and there could not be any reason why the Hindusabhaits should have a special spite against the Moslems residing at the comparatively insignificant town of Bhagalpur of all places in India. But nevertheless after the venue was settled in the ordinary course of things and in view of other considerations and conveniences at Bhagalpur the Government of Bihar came out all of a sudden with a communique banning the Session and ordering that it

must not be held in a number of districts in Bihar including the town of Bhagalpur from the 1st of December next to the 10th of January 1942.

The Government of Bihar argued that they would find it very difficult to maintain peace and order at Bhagalpur owing to the paucity of police forces at their disposal in case communal disturbances broke out during the Bakr-Id, if the Session and the Bakr-Id coincided.

So far as the question of coincidence was concerned, the working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha having no intention whatsoever to give any justifiable excuse even to the aggressive section among the Moslems, decided in an accommodating spirit not to hold the Session on the dates during which the Bakr-Id was customarily observed at Bhagalpur and resolved that the Session should be held on the 24th to 27th December next Hindu Mahasabha to do for years in the past. This arrangement would have enable the Mahasabha to end the Session a couple of days before the Bakr-Id began and let the Moslems alone to celebrate it in any fashion they chose. But the Bihar Government still refused to raise the ban on the ground that the holding of the session even the Bakr-Id and even if it was held on dates not coinciding with Bakr-Id was quite likely to inflame the communal tension and passing at Bhagalpur and prevent the peaceful celebration of the Bakr-Id festival! But they did not seem to mind it much that there was more likelihood of communal passions being inflamed and of communal riots breaking out if Bakr-Id was allowed to precede the Mahasabha Session and thus endanger again its being held just after the Bake-Id. As a matter of fact it cannot be denied that it is the Bakr-Id which more often than not is notoriously associated throughout India with communal disturbances and Moslem fanaticism running riot. The Session of the Hindu Mahasabha on the contrary are as undeniably noted for their peaceful and orderly celebrations. But even the latest press communiqué issued by Government of Bihar which modified the ban to the extent that allowed the Session to be held just after the Bkar-Id after the 3rd of January 1942, instead of the 10th of january1942, did not make it clear whether the Government would not renew the ban on the Session even if it was held on the 4th of January, in case some communal disturbances were staged during the Bakr-Id just to spite the Mahasabha Session to come. Consequently, whether the Session was held before the Bakr-Id or after the Bakr-Id, the necessity of facing the ban like the sword of Damocles was kept hanging on its head.

So far as the second reason which was set forth by the Government to justify its attitude as to the paucity of the police forces at the command of the Bihar Government, it is enough to point out that the government has more than once emphasized that in case an attempt to hold the Session was made in spite of the ban, the Bihar Government would put it down with all the resources at their command. Now if the Government is thus on its own admission so powerful, --and it is no doubt so powerful as to command sufficient forces to suppress an All-India Session of the Hindu Mahasabha which is likely to be attended by tens of thousands of Hindus along with the most outstanding Hindu Leaders from all parts of India, --can it ever be said that those very forces would not have enabled that Government to hold in check that aggressive section of Moslems at Bhagalpur, if there be any, which was likely to get inflamed and to

threaten criminal disturbances if free association by holding the Session of the Hindu Mahasabha at Bhagalpur?

When the All-India Session of the Moslem League was held at Madras this year, the Government prevented the Hindus under Session 144 from holding meetings, carrying lethal weapons or assembling in more than five persons so that the Session of the League might pass of well in spite of the fact that rabid and anti-Hindi speeches and resolutions were delivered and passed in it. Now at Bhagalpur when the All-India Session of the Hindu Mahasabha is to be held the Government instead of calling upon the Moslems to keep themselves within the bounds of law and order have put a ban on the Hindu Mahasabha Session itself making it criminal on the part of the Hindus to exercise their fundamental right of citizenship!

Throughout India the same discriminating, partial and antis- Hindu policy is adhered to and Hindu processions, immersion of images and conferences are held up to placate the fanatical goondiasm on the part of the aggressive Moslem sections.

The reason trotted out for this anti-Hindu policy is also uniform: that it is the duty of the Government to maintain peace and order.

But the peace or order which is to be maintained as a duty on the part of the Government is that which enables the law-obiding to exercise their legitimate rights and that peace or order which could only be maintained by compelling the law-obiding to forgo their rights to placate the aggressive and the criminal.

The underlying idea which makes the Government resort to this policy throughout India cannot be any other than the notion that the Hindu as a people being gentle and law-abiding are more amenable even to such humiliating and unjust restrictions on their liberty than the chauvinistic Moslem fanatics.

The civic and even the religious festivities of Hindus, Christians and Parsees pass off so peacefully as to provide occasions for general rejoicing to people of all communities alike throughout India. But the Moslem festivals, whether civic or religious with the Bakr-Id or the Mohurrum are almost always associated with bloody orgies and fanatical anti-Hindu riots. Not only the Hindus but all non-Moslem communities in India find them a source of constant and dangerous nuisance to life and property. The responsibility for this situation must be shared not only by the riotous Moslem fanaticism but by the insane policy of the Government too, which almost always seeks to maintain peace And order riot but by calling upon the Hindus to forgo the exercise of their legitimate rights of citizenship and thus by putting a premium on fanatical goondaism.

The ban placed on the Hindu Mahasabha Session at Bhagalpur is also justified by the Government with unabashed frankness by stating that they had to do so for no other urgent or justifiable reason, but to enable the Bakr-Id festivities of a handful of Moslems in a solitary town like Bhagalpur to pass off well. If the Session of the All-

India Hindu Mahasabha is held before the Bakr-Id, the Government contention is that even this legitimate exercise of the right of association by the Hindus may inflame communal passions of the Moslems! If the Government suspected such a contingency, it was their duty to take every precaution to hold in check and chastise this aggressive and intolerant fanaticism that gets inflamed at the sight of the exercise by other communities of their legitimate rights. The Christians who are to celebrate their X'mas during those very days, never get inflamed at the sight of a number of All-India Conferences held by the Hindus and other communities throughout India. But on the contrary these Christian holidays like the Hindu holidays provide special facility for such All-India Sessions. It is only the insane policy of the Government to placate Moslem goondaism that has rendered the Moslem fanatics so irascible and intolerant. At Nellore, for example, the very Government law courts have openly confessed their inability to compel the executive to abide by and carry out their legal orders in connection with Hindu rights. A Government whose executive refuses to carry out the decisions of its own law courts and will not protest the civic rights of the Hindus held valid by the law courts when they are opposed to the fanatical whims of the Moslems for the only reason that otherwise that fanaticism would break out in riotous orgies must be said to have lost all legitimate and moral right to govern at all.

In addition to this unjustifiable nature of the ban its legality also is seriously questionable. Whatever powers are to be exercised by the provincial Governments in order to maintain public safety and order under the Defence of India Act are to be exercised, 'for the purpose of securing the Defence of British India,' and in case 'such exercise is called for, the efficient prosecution of war.' Now, by no stretch of imagination can the Government maintain that the Session of the All India Hindu Mahasabha is likely to disturb public order or endanger public safety with a view or in a manner of standing in a way of the efficient prosecution of war or the securing the Defence of British India. Add to this fact that of all outstanding All-India organizations, the Hindu Mahasabha alone has been the foremost advocate of extending responsive co-operation to the British Government in this war in so far as the question of Indian defence is concerned. Almost all of its prominent leaders and workers have been touring round throughout the country calling upon the Hindus to join the military forces of all arms and thousands of its members have already secured entry in the army, Navy and the Aerial Forces with a genuine desire of co-operating with the British Forces in responsive spirit insamuch as the Hindu interests too under the present circumstances dictate such co-operation. Their could not be therefore, any the least chance of suspecting any harm or opposition 'to the cause of Indian defence' or 'the efficient prosecution of war.' Nor has the Government itself cited any such reason in their order prohibiting this session. The case, therefore, cannot be said to be covered by Defence of India Act and consequently the ban that is placed on this Session under this act is *ab initio illegal*. This legal view taken by some of the foremost lawyers in the land proves that the Government of Bihar has not only committed a political blunder, but even a legal one.

The Mahasabha has consequently resolved to hold its Session at Bhagalpur itself on the scheduled dates in spite of this unjust, humiliating and illegal Government ban, in assertion of the civic rights of citizenship in general and of Hindus in particular.

The time has come when the Hindus must correct the erring notion under which the Government labours that Hindus can be made to tolerate any aggression on their civic and religious rights and can take all kicking more kindly than the chauvinistic Moslem fanaticism and that this is the cheaper way of maintaining the so-called peace and order. The Hindus must now learn to record practical protest against any such anti-Hindu policy on the part of the Government or on the part of any one else whenever and wherever such cases humiliating to Hindu honour crop up, by all legitimate means within their reach even if in this their attempt to exercise their legitimate and fundamental rights of citizenship, the Government at times threatens most unjustly and illegitimately to cow down the Hindus by flourishing the police budgeon in their face.

We go to Bhagalpur not to challenge the Government but to assert our legitimate rights

Nevertheless, I must make it clear that the Mahasabhaite are going to Bhagalpur to hold this Session—even if the ban is not raised in time,--not with any the least desire to throw a challenge to the Government or to flout the legitimate authority in any wanton manner. We shall all rally round the Pan-Hindu flag raised at Bhagalpur with the only object of asserting our civic rights of free association. We shall give no justifiable reason whatsoever to inflame any communal passions or do anything beyond asserting our inalienable civic rights without trespassing on those of other communities in the interests of peace and order which when interpreted in an impartial and constitutional sense, the Hindu Mahasabhaits are as anxious as the Government to maintain. Even if we are banned and opposed by physical force on the part of the Government, we are all determined to offer ourselves to get arrested or to face the worst without any show or use of physical resistance to the Government authorities on our part, beyond the civil resistance implied by our assertion again and of our legitimate right to continue the Sessional activities.

I earnestly hope that insamuch as the cause the Hindu Mahasabha is going to fight out at Bhagalpur, is essential the cause of civic liberty so far as the question of resisting, with all legitimate means, this ban is concerned—not only all Hindus irrespective of party affiliations but even our Christian, Parsee and Jewish countrymen, in fact every Indian citizen who values the cause of the fundamental right of citizenship of free association and realizes that the Government policy of bribing fanatical goondaism at the cost of legitimate rights of honest and law-abiding citizens constitutes a common danger to all citizens alike, will extend their sympathy and co-operation and strengthen the hands of the Hindu Mahasabhaits in this their struggle to assert the fundamental rights of citizenship on an issue which is of common interest to all Indian citizenship alike.

I have no doubt that if but the Hindu sanghatanists muster strong at Bhagalpur from all parts of India and fight out this campaign of civil resistance within the legitimate bounds indicated above with a heroic determination counting no imprisonment, lathi charges or any sacrifice whatsoever as too high a price to pay for maintaining the honour of the Pan-Hindu Flag without giving any the least illegitimate

cause on their part for any breach of honourable peace, genuine civic order or malicious communal tension,--this 23rd session of the Hindu Mahasabha is bound to prove the most successful Session of all the Sessions in the past.

II

As it seems more likely than not, that this speech will not be formally read in a formally assembled Session at Bhagalpur and also because there is no time now left to write it at full length I mean to touch only a few categorical points to serve as finger posts at cross roads to guide the Hindu Movement in the near future.

Loyal Homage to His Majesty the King of Nepal

I tender on behalf of Hindudom as a whole our most loyal homage to his Majesty the King of Nepal as a defender of the Hindu Faith, the Sovereign of the only Independent Hindi Kingdom today, the foremost representative of the glorious Hindu Past and the Hope of still more glorious Hindi future. Fortunately, for the Hindus, the Government of Nepal has today at its helm a personality in whose hands the Hindu interests are bound to be safe. His Highness the Maharaja Yudhusamsher Jang Bahadur, the present Prime Minister of Nepal realizes more than any one else that the future of the Hindu Kingdom of Nepal is indissolubly bound up with the future of Hindudom as a whole Hindus in fact are a National unit and it is given to Nepal today to shape its destiny. The war opens out immense possibilities before us even if it threatens to surround us on all sides with imminent dangers. Keeping the ultimate goal of Hindu regeneration full in view, it was no doubt wise under the present circumstances that the Hindu Kingdom of Nepal should have chosen to ally herself with the British Government during this war and sent our brave Goorkha armies to protect Indian Frontiers and to same other theatres of war to check new alien invasions. The British Government too would do well to recompense for this effective assistance they receive at Nepal at least those districts in Bihar and on the Borders of the Punjab which were a part of the Kingdom of Nepal only a century ago and were then annexed by the British.

It is encouraging to note that the land-forces of Nepal are already so efficient and up-to-date as to match the resistance. But we are anxiously waiting for the day when even the aerial forces of Nepal will be as efficient, up-to-date and powerful enough to protect not only herself but even Hindudom as a whole. Nepal is exposed to aerial attacks as seriously as any of the Eastern provinces of India. The war which has already touched the Indian shores constitutes at once a danger and an opportunity and I am confident that the virile and far-sighted Prime Minister of Nepal will take by the forelock and equip Nepal with a powerful aerial force at no distant date.

The second point to which I want to attract the attention of the Government of Nepal may seem comparatively less urgent but is nevertheless far from being negligible. From sources which are more or less reliable it seems that the Moslems are trying to make their influences felt and stealthy and treacherous advances. Mosques are multiplying rapidly in Nepal and the numbers of unwary Hindu girls lads are being

kidnapped or duped in surrounding tribal districts and ultimately converted to Mohammedanism. There are more ways than one by which a well-planned scheme of increasing the numerical strength of the Moslems in and about the Hindu Kingdom is long being worked out. I urge the Government of Nepal to be as alert as possible and not to minimize this danger to the strength and stability of Hindus in the Kingdom. Mosques are first build as houses of prayer but they soon develop, as we have found in so many cases all over India, into hot-beds of anti-Hindu fanaticism. The campaign of kidnapping and abduction does on the face of it seem a stray outburst of individual crime. But then if history has anything to teach us Hindus, it teaches us that it was by these means, howsoever despicable they may seem, that the Moslems continued and are even now continuing to increase their numerical strength and strengthen their hold in India. If a Hindu King allowed Mosques to be build he was first flattered as a magnanimous soul who loved all religious and races alike. But the time has come that we Hindus should despise this species of magnanimity as nothing short of suicidal madness. It was owing to this malady of magnanimity that our ancient Hindu King allowed foreigners from all parts of the world into Hindusthan and even treated them as our own Kith and kin and granted them protection and status equal with our own Hindu brethren. And now the staggering results stare us in the face. The erstwhile guests are threatening to oust the master of the house himself, out of it. Consequently, the Government of Nepal should make it clear to all concerned that no anti-Hindu activity or designs would be tolerated in Nepal and should watch ceaselessly so as not allow any non-Hindu section and especially the Moslems to grow in numerical strength in Nepal beyond what it recorded a century ago,

The Hindu Mahasabha Movement advancing with strides of a Giant

Taking stock of events during the last year it can be incontrovertibly asserted that the Hindu movement led by the Mahasabha has progressed throughout India. The shuddhi work, the effective and successful efforts to remove untouchability, the census campaign it conducted throughout India, the defending of the civic and religious rights of Hindus at hundreds of localities, facing and even foiling the wave of armed aggression on the part of the Moslems in their campaign of the so-called Pakistan riots through a larger part of India and proving it to those anti-Hindu forces that even their bloody orgies cost themselves dearer and could never succeed in browbeating the Hindu movement, the successes in scores of electoral contests to the Central Assembly and to the local Municipalities or boards which the Mahasabhaits won in Maharashtra, Assam, Bengal, and in several other parts of India and even the couple of electoral defeats the Mahasabha had to undergo as the one in Berar,- do all of them point out incontrovertibility that the Mahasabha is rapidly growing into a power that could no longer be understand with impunity and that it has already grown formidable enough to hold in check the anti-Hindu forces that had been let loose on India and ran riot unchallenged during the last fifty years or so. But the crowing achievement of the Mahasabha movement has been, more than these direct and detailed events, the indirect influence which its ideology and propaganda exercised on the Hindu mind to such an amazing extent as could only fifty described as a mental revolution. The unparalleled enthusiasm displayed by crores of Hindus, classes and masses together with which they welcome the President of the Hindu Mahasabha and

several of its veteran leaders in all quarters of the country and which enthusiasms found its fittest expression, rending the air day in and day out, in that million-million throated 'Hindu-Dharm-ki-Jay; Hindusthan Hinduonka!!' proved to demonstrated that the Hindus as a people have shed that inferiority complex which had been their greatest curse inflicted by themselves upon themselves and that they have returned to their National self-consciousness as Hindus. This mental revolution could not have found a better expression to voice forth its significance than that 'Hindusthan Hinduonka!!'

This awakening of the Hindu spirit which the Mahasabha movement brought about has already been able to effect breeches even in Congress citadel from within and thousands of those Congressite Hindus who had altogether forgotten that they were Hindus under the baneful influence of the Pseudo-Nationalistic opiates of the Gandhist school of thought are already searching their hearts and are blessing the Mahasabha in their innermost hearts for fighting for the Hindu cause and are sooner or later destined to fall as willing captives into our hands. This indirect effect of the Mahasabhait propaganda has already compelled those very Congressites who blamed the Hindusabhaits for calling upon the Hindu electorates to vote for those who pledged to safeguard Hindu interests and for thus rendering the elections tainted with communalism,--to assure the Hindu electorate that although they stood on Congress ticket, yet they were nevertheless Hindus of Hindus and would not yield to the Hindu Mahasabhait candidate in safeguarding Hindu interests!! No compliment to the efficacy of the Hindu movement can be more convincing than these appeals by Congress candidate to the Hindu electorate, even if they be for the time being meant only to capture Hindu votes.

The time is fast approaching when the Congress will either be but plank of the Hindu Mahasabha or get compelled to shut its shop altogether which deals in wholesale representation, by foregoing the right to represent the Hindus directly or indirectly.

The Moslems must get satisfied with representation in proportion to their population only

The third outstanding achievement of the Hindu Mahasabha has been that it has already proved to be a formidable opponent to the inordinate ambitions of the Moslems in general and the Moslem League in particular.

Whether it be the question of the extension of the Executive Council or the formation of the Moslem Leaguers have themselves admitted that they have been discomfited and their swollen headed claims left unheeded. Mr. Jinnah resents that Mr. Amery should have betray him in not keeping up the Government 'promise' of not turning down the full-fledged Pakistan scheme and should have even gone to the length of delivering Sermons on 'India First.' In Bengal Mr. Huq who only last year kept roaring like a 'tiger' that he would 'Sataenga' the Hindus is already so cowed and chastened as to talk sense and prefer to join hands with the Hindu Mahasabha even at the

risk of getting a divorce from the Moslem League. Nor did Sir Sadullah Khan fare better in Assam and was compelled to resign his Premiership overnight. The so-called League Government in these provinces having the tumbled down like a house of cards it was but natural that the Moslem League should have found itself left in the lurch and bloated ambition fallen flat to the ground.

It cannot be denied that it was largely due to the formidable opposition of Hindusabhaits that the League thus find itself today discomfited and foiled on all sides. Nor does the future hold out any more hopeful prospect before it in view of the fact that the Hindus are every day getting influenced more and more by the ideology of the Hindu Mahasabha and are consequently bound to get more and more consolidated and powerful to present a united Hindu front to all anti-Hindu aggression.

The war also has belied the hopes of the Indian Pan-Islamite. Only in last April when the Moslem League held its Session at Madras, Mr. Jinnah warned the Government and the Hindus that if they did not do what he wanted them to do ‘others would come to India and do it and break up Hindusthan into a conglomeration of Pakistans’. Other ‘notable Moslem leaders too asserted in continuation of the threat that their great Moslem Nations across the border of India were there and thus would not hesitate to join hands with them as the India Moslems looked upon them as their destined deliverers from the yoke of the Hindus in India. But unfortunately out these ‘others’ or these ‘our great Moslem Nations beyond the borders of India’ none now can be found at the station. During the last war the Ex-Amir AmanullaKhan was to play the part of the destined deliverer of Islam in India and with the treacherous connivance of Gandhiji, the two great ‘Nationalist’ leaders the Ali brothers conspired to bring him to Delhi as the would-be anointed Emperor of India. But unfortunately a Baccha-i-Saku, a son of water carrier finished the Ex-Amir and the would-be Emperor of India. If this time our Moslem leaders at Madras meant by the ‘others’ Raza Shaha of Iran who was then hands in glove with the Nazis and expected him to play the part of the next best Deliverer of our India Moslems from the majority tyranny of the Hindus, then now his address also is not quite known and instead of booking for India he seem to have taken a wrong train to Mauritius. Instead of playing the part of the Deliverer of Islam in India, poor Persia is desperately searching now for a deliverer for her own sake. Turks are but literally sandwiched between the German and the British forces and they themselves do not know what would be their fate tomorrow and have only a Hobson’s forces. Still if of those ‘others’ who were to do for the Moslems what the Hindu refused to do and cut up India to order after the Pakistan fashion, any Moslem deliverer is yet willing and able to do the task,--we shall be glad to be enlightened by the League as regards his present destination and address. Can it be that His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad is the next aspirant to that high office? If so, then all that we can do is to exclaim, ‘if these be thy Gods, Oh Israel!!’

On the whole the time has come when our Moslem countrymen should realize that even in their own interests they should accept the inevitable and should cease amusing themselves with airy nothing. They must count with realizes, they must know that they are in a majority and that there is not the slightest chance now left for them to

reduce the present majority of the Hindus in any appreciable measure. The Shuddhi movement and the virile awakening that has come over the Hindus have disarmed forcible or fraudulent conversion to Islam in India once and for all. Even if an Allauddin or an Aurangzeb comes down again, he would not be able to convert permanently and from generation to generation a dozen Hindus by force or fraud. Take the latest case of such forcible conversions in Bengal during the Dacca riots this years. In a number of village hundreds of Hindu families were forcibly 'converted' to Islam and the Moslem rioters fancied that those villages were then permanently annexed to Pakistan as used to be the case in reality some two centuries ago. But then no sooner were the riots put down that did the Moslems find to their utter dismay that all the 'converted' Hindus were *shuddified* in no time and went back to their Hindu fold more intensely Hinduised and more bitterly opposed to Islamite persuasion and practices. If but this factor is once clearly and definitely realized, that it follows inevitably that the Moslems in India cannot but continue a minority and must frame their political programme accordingly. They cannot expect a single seat more either in the Legislature or in Government Cabinets than what their population strength today entitles them to have and so far as their claim of cutting off the Punjab and other provinces from India to from them into Pakistan is concerned, well they should take it as feasible or otherwise as the claim of the Hindus of annexing Afghanistan to Hindusthan once again so as to extend the boundaries of Hindudom right up to the Hindukush!!!

III

Our immediate programme without touching the day-today activities in hundred and one directions which the Hindu Mahasabha branches have to carry all over the country in connection with Shuddhi, removal of untouchability, meeting the local needs and suppression of the local grievances of the Hindus at every town and village, the routine of propagandistic work, the conference, meetings, touts, and such all other organizational and Sanghatanist activities, I want to emphasize here categorically the only two most outstanding and urgent items on which for the next few years all Hindu Sanghatanists must concentrate their attention and their energy. The first of these items constitutes the electoral plank of the Hindusabha platform and the second the militarizing one.

The Hindu electorate must vote for those Hindus who stand openly on a Hindu Mahasabha ticket under the Hindu Flag and pledge to guard Hindu interests. Thereby alone they will invest the Hindu Mahasabha with an undeniable status as the first and the foremost representative body of the Hindus and the Hindus would be able to capture whatever political power there exists today and is bound to be secured in future in the Legislatures. Unless and until the Congress is not deprived of the right of representing the Hindus in the Legislatures, it is dead certain that the special interests of the Hindus and the Hindus must go to the wall in the long run.

There is Pan-Hindu Issue involved in every
electoral contest

So long as the electorates are based on communal distinction the Hindus can never have their special interests and aspirations represented in the Legislatures unless and until they elect only those candidates who stand on a clear-cut Hindu Mahasabha ticket, who owe no allegiance to any organization which is not pledged wholly and solely to safeguard and promote the special interests of the Hindudom a whole. to the Hindus all over India, there can be no distinction between the so-called national interests and the Hindu Mahasabha represents?

Independence of India, indivisibility of India, representation in proportion to the population strength, public services to go by merit alone and the fundamental rights of freedom of worship, language, script, etc., guaranteed to all citizens like are some of the basic principles on which the Hindu Mahasabha takes its stand. It realizes that the best interests of the Hindus themselves demand under the present circumstances that the Indian Nation and the Indian State should be based on these fundamental foundations.

The conception of any genuine Nationality also, that takes no account of any communal or creedal super-arrogations into consideration, can go no further. That is why the Hindu Mahasabha claims that there can be no conflict or clash between Hindu interests and interests of the Indian Nations a whole.

The Hindu Mahasabha seeks not an inch more than what is legitimately due to it or than what it is willing to concede to all non-Hindu minorities in India in strict proportion to their population strength. But it follows from this very just and legitimate conception of true Nationalism that the Hindu Mahasabha should not yield an inch of what is legitimately due to the Hindus on ground of National equity to the Moslems but the Congress, the Forward Bloc and such organizations in India have sinned geographical Nationality. They have a set ideology and policy which raise betrayal of Hindu rights to the pedestal of patriotic virtue! To prove that they are above communal level the Hindu leaders and followers belonging to these organizations hesitate even to claim themselves as representatives of Hindus!

But perversely enough they do not hesitate to seek elections at the hands of communal electorates! They thereby both their National labels as well as the interests of the Hindu electorates who elect them to represent and guard the special rights of Hindus.

If the Congress or the Forward Bloc do not want to call themselves as representative bodies of the Hindus alone and claim to represent the Indian Nation as a whole, the only logical and of the Hindu electorate alone as they invariably do at present. So long as the electorates are divided communally, these bodies who call themselves National should refuse to stand for election on behalf of any of those communal electorates. They should wait till a real National electorate is ushered into being.

But this double dealing and misguided policy on the part of the Congress or the Forward Bloc or any of these so-called National bodies have done an incalculable

harm both to the Hindu interests and the National interests as well. The result of this Pseude-Nationalistic error on the part of the Hindu Congressites with all its blocs and their heads left the Hindus entirely unrepresented as Hindus all round.

On the other hand, the Moslem representatives in the Assembly, in the Board, at the Round Table Conference and at all such vital centers get represented by the Moslem Leaguers or by those Moslems who are pledged to Moslem electorate openly and whole-heartedly to safeguard and promote Moslem interests even to an overwhelmingly aggressive degree.

And on the other hand the Congressites and the Forward Blocists and all such bodies duped by the Pseudo-Nationalistic mentality get themselves elected on behalf of the Hindu electorate as its representatives but when in the Legislature or ion the Round Table Conferences or even in the day- to day politics, etc., whenever questions of Hindu interests arise, they refuse to advocate the Hindu cause and even feel themselves insulted if the Government takes them as the representatives of the Hindus electorate. In the case of the partition of Sindh, the Communal Award, down to the question of Census this year when Mr. Kripalani declared that the Census being a communal question, the Congress had to do nothing with it, the Hindu interests were actually betrayed in hundreds and hundreds of cases by these Pseudo-Nationalistic organizations in spite of the fact that they got themselves elected on behalf of the Hindu electorates. I know it personally that some of the foremost leaders of the Forward Bloc were eager only last year to plastic the Muslim League at a larger sacrifice of the Hindu interests than even the official section of the Congress did, so that anyhow they must represent to the Government a Hindu Muslim pact. The Motives of the leaders of these Pseudo-nationalistic organizations were above any personal interests and were even patriotic but patriots can also be befooled and betrayed into the cause, the results are what matters most to the Hindus who have been victimized and will continue to get victimized so long as the Hindu electorate persists in the suicidal folly of electing the candidates who have pledged to the ideology and discipline of these Pseudo-Nationalistic bodies.

It is not enough that some individual candidate on the Congress or Forward Bloc ticket, promises to safeguard Hindu interests, if he is elect by the Hindu electorate for the simple reason that he can never be in position to do that in spite of himself so long as he is bound to the wheel of the Pseudo-Nationalistic Ideology and policy and Discipline of his party whether it be the Congress or the Forward Bloc.

I affirm that under these circumstances the most effective and the easiest way for those Hindus who feel that Hindudom Fatherland and Holyland must elect only those representative on behalf of the Hindu electorate who stand on the Hindu Mahasabha ticket and are consequently pledged and bound uncompromisingly to safeguard and promote Hindu interests under the lead of the Hindu Mahasabha.

As shown above, the ideology and policy of the Hindu Mahasabha is genuinely national. Consequently, in electing the candidate on the Hindu Mahasabha ticket the Hindu electorate can serve and safeguard both their National interests in

general as well as their special interests as Hindus in particular. In fact for a Hindu owning the Hindu Mahasabha ideology, there can be no distinction whatsoever between his Hindu interests and his National interests.

But in electing a candidate who is bound to the ticket of any of the Pseudo-Nationalistic bodies like the Congress or the Forward Bloc, the Hindu electorate is sure to run the risk of having the special interests of the Hindus knowingly or unknowingly betrayed and even the genuinely Indian National interests hazarded.

I, therefore, call upon all Hindus to follow determinedly the only policy that save them as effectively as possible under the present circumstances—the policy of electing as their representatives only those candidates who stand on the Hindu Mahasabha compelled to recognize the Hindu Mahasabha as the only representative body of Hindudom as a whole and the Congress will be deprived of any legal legitimate right to speak on behalf of the Hindus.

The Government maintain that the Congress cannot represent the Moslems on the unchallengeable ground that the Moslem electorate never votes for a Congress candidate but votes unfailingly for a Moslem who is pledged openly to guard Moslem interests and owes no allegiance to any Pseudo-Nationalistic body Consequently, if the Hindu electorate which makes it a point never to vote for any candidate who stands on the Congress ticket or the Forward Bloc ticket or the ticket of any Pesudo-Nationalistic body, the claim of the Hindu Mahasabha to represent Hindu interests will be legally and legitimately established. These elections are a challenge thrown by the Government to the Hindu electorate to prove that Hindu Mahasabha represents them and the Congress can no longer sign any pacts like the Communal Award or the Pakistan that is threatening to come into being to the determent of the Hindus. Conferences to frame the future constitution of India will soon be summoned. If the Hindu Mahasabha can pass the acid test at the polls all over India and has its candidates returned by the Hindus as their accredited representatives, the Government will be compelled to recognize the position of the Hindu Mahasabha on par with the Moslem League in these conferences. Then no Blank Cheques, no Communal awards, no Pakistan scheme, no weightages can be binding on the Hindus simply because the Congress signs them. The religious, the political and the economical interests, the culture, the language, the script, the honour and the whole future of the Hindu race and the Hindu Nation will be safe in the hands of the Hindu Mahasabha and no constitution or law or understanding can be binding on the Hindus unless and until it is signed by the Hindu Mahasabha.

If but the Hindu electorate returns only the Hindu Mahasabhait representatives to the Legislatures, there will be in almost all provinces Hindu Sanghatanist Ministries formed, pledged to safeguard and promote Hindu interests openly and uncompromisingly and even in the Hindu minority provinces powerful Hindu Sanghatanists opposition parties in the Legislatures will be in a position to exercise an effective check on the Moslem Ministries to defeat their anti-Hindu aggressions. Consequently, I call upon the Hindus all over India to realize the significance of this Pan-Hindu aspect in all future electoral campaigns.

The second most important and urgent item on which the Hindu Sanghatanist all over India must bend all their energies and activities is the programme for the militarization of Hindus. The war which has now reached for our shores directly constitutes at once a danger and an opportunity which both render it imperative that the militarization movement must be intensified and every branch of the Hindu Mahasabha in every town and village must activity engage itself in rousing the Hindus people to join the army, navy, the aerial forces and different war-craft manufactories.

Japan's entry into the war against Britain and the United States need not cause any change in the attitude taken by the Hindus Mahasabha towards war effort calculated to contribute to Indian defence. Germany, Italy, America or even Russia have gone to war with no altruistic aim but only in pursuance of their own national interests, Japan too proves no exception so far as the motives which drove her to the war is concerned.

When every nation in the world is following the policy of self-interest and self-aggrandisement, India too must adopt a policy dictated solely by the interests of promoting her own interests, present and future. From this point of view, situated as we Hindus are at present, our best national interests demands that so far as India's defence is concerned, Hindudom must ally unhesitatingly in a spirit of responsive co-operation with the war effort of the Indian Government in so far as it is consistent with Hindu interests, by joining the Army, Navy and the Aerial forces in as large a number as possible and by securing an entry into all ordnance, ammunition and war-craft factories.

Militarization and industrialization of our Hindu nation ought to the first two immediate objectives which we must pursue and secure to best of our power, if we want to utilize the war situation in the world as effectively as possible to defend the Hindu interest.

Again it must be noted that Japan's entry into the war has exposed us directly and immediately to the attack by Britain's enemies. Consequently, whether we like it or not, we shall have to defend our own hearth and home against the ravages of the war and this can only be done by intensifying the Government's war effort to defend India. Hindu Mahasabhaits must, therefore, rouse Hindus especially in the provinces of Bengal and Assam as effectively as possible to enter the military forces of all arms without losing a single minute.

IV

If but you act up according to these instructions, I guarantee Oh Hindus, that the future of our Hindu race, our religion and of our nation cannot fail to be even more glorious than our ancient past had been. These two steps which I have emphasized above : namely, by voting at the polls for the Hindu ticket alone and by not casting a single Hindu vote for the Congress to capture the political power and the Governmental machinery in the land that exist today and secondly to flood the army, the navy and the aerial forces with millions of Hindu warriors with Hindu Sanghatanist hearts—these two

steps are but the first two steps and yet they shall give you such an immediate and high lift that at the end of the next five years you will find the political situation in India inevitably dominated by the Hindu though, led by the Hindu hand, and more or less dictated by the Hindu will.

The great war today has dwarfed all other issues and no one can say with certainty who will emerge successful out of this world chaos. But one thing can still be said as the most probable to happen that if but the Hindus stick to this immediate programme and take advantage to the fullest extent possible of the war situation with the Hindu Sanghatanist ideal full in view, pressing on the movement for the militarization of the Hindu race, then our Hindu nation is bound to emerge far more powerful, consolidated and situated in an incomparably more advantageous position to face issues after the war,--whether it be an internal anti-Hindu Civil War or a constitutional crisis or an armed revolution.

Whatever, again, be the position and the fate of Nations after the war, today under the present circumstances taking all things together, the only feasible and relatively beneficial attitude which the Hindu Sanghatanists can take up is doubtless to ally ourselves actively with the British Government on the point of Indian Defence, provided always that we can do so without being compelled to betray the Hindu cause.

If ever the saying was true that darkest5 hour of the night is nearer the golden rise of the morn, it holds good today. The war that has approached our shores from the East and may threaten us in due course even from the West is a danger which may prove unparalleled in its magnitude, ravages and results. But it is also bound to break into a new day for the world and there are no signs wanting to show us that not only a newer but a better Order may ensue out of this world chaos. Those who have lost all may gain much in the end. Let us also bide our time and pray and act for the best.

24TH Session

Cawnpore-1942

Delegates to and Members of the Hindu Mahasabha,

You have really overwhelmed me with kindness in appreciating my services, quite limited though they are, so highly as to elect me in an unbroken succession for the sixth time to the Presidentship of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, the highest office of honour and duty which lies at the disposal of Hindudom today. If I too on my part do not shirk to accept this responsibility for the present, in spite of the most willing resignations tendered by me from time to time requesting you to relieve me of this post in view of my ailing health, it is only due to the fact that forces from outside the camp of the Hindu Mahasabha have actually been conspiring first to waylay the Mahasabha and then capture it by some crafty *coup d'etat*. Some of them try to brow-beat it into submission, others are scheming to kill it with kindness and all of them want it to betray that Hindu ideology and those fundamental principles of independence and integrity of Hindusthan, the Holyland and Fatherland of us Hindus, which alone form both the charter and the vindication of its existence apart form and independent of the Congress, as the foremost representative organization of Hindudom as a whole. It is consequently the imperative duty of each and all of us Hindu Sanghatanists, on whom has fallen in this generation the duty to protect Hindudom and this Mahasabha, this holy shrine of our Hindu nation to stand on guard at each of its gates and serve the post allotted to each with unswerving fidelity. It is this special emergency that has made me take up this post which you have all summoned me again to hold.

2. Before I proceed, I must first take a rapid review of some leading events which happened during this year in connection with the Hindu Mahasabha so as to enable us to realize more precisely where we stand today and what should be our immediate programme.

This year opened just when we were in the very thick of the Bhagalpur Civil Resistance Campaign. The most important aspect of the struggle which constitutes an abiding source of strength and self-confidence to our people is the fact that we Hindus could present a United Hindu Front and demonstrated beyond cavil or criticism that in spite of castes or creeds, sects and sections, Hindudom as a whole does still pulsate with a common National Being. That pan-Hindu consciousness, which the Hindu Mahasabha has so long been striving to create, has at last become a living reality forceful and organized enough to resist and at times even to cow down the anti-Hindu forces, which held their sway unchallenged for such a long time in the past. From our esteemed leader Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerji down to those heroic souls, who laid their lives unknown to fame by name, thousands and thousands of Hindu Sanghatanists-Rajas and Raises, Millionaires and Millhands, Ex-ministers and M.L.A.'s, Sanghatanists, Sikhs, Jains and Aryans-all rushed to Bhagalpur from every corner of India animated by the common urge to defend the honour of the pan-Hindu flag. The struggle was not restricted to Bhagalpur

alone, but ultimately spread all over the six districts of Bihar which came under the ban and its shocks were the order of the day. The armed mounted forces of the Government charged the processionists and civil resisters at various places trampling men, women and children under the hoofs of their horses. Organized firing was resorted to in cities and towns and even villages. The Hindu civil resisters faced it all with unabated zeal in defending the honour of the Hindu colours and in winning the goal which was the objective at issue. There can be no exaggeration in proclaiming that the 23rd Session of the Hindu Mahasabha held at Bhagalpur despite the Government ban proved to be the most momentous and the most successful one of all the annual Sessions held till then by any all-India organisation including the Congress in the modern history of India.

I shall be failing in my duty, if I as the President do not express on behalf of this Session our deepest gratitude to all those who took part in the Bhagalpur Dharma Yuddha as soldiers in the spirit of crusaders, although the Hindu Mahasabha has nothing else to offer to mark its appreciation of their services but the crown of thorns of martyrdom to those heroes, who laid down their lives in the struggle and their very wounds to those thousands of soldiers who were wounded as the 'Iron Crosses' they won.

The second aspect of the struggle which must be noted here is the fact that it was fought in defence of Hindu rights as Hindu rights and under the unalloyed Hindu colours. The Nizam Civil Resistance Movement and this Bhagalpur campaign wherein millions of Hindus rose in protest against the humiliation of the Hindu flag drove the last nail in the coffin of that Pseudo-Nationalism which kept dominating the Hindu mind for the last 30 years or so, had penalised and agitation to uphold any special rights of the Hindus as a 'National' sin, throttled the Hindu voice, suppressed the Hindu spirit, reduced the Hindus to political orphans in this land.

These struggles did also prove to all concerned that the Hindu Mahasabha was not only powerful enough to raise a mass movement of legitimate resistance on an all-India scale in defence of Hindu rights but had a better tactical sense of timing them and conducting them strategically to an assured success.

3. Within a couple of months of the cessation of the Bhagalpur struggle, the All-India Committee of the Mahasabha was held in February in Lucknow and passed off successfully in spite of the riotous opposition staged by the Moslems there.

4. Then came the Cripps Mission at the end of March. The British Government had been for years feigning to believe that the Congress represented the Hindus, the Moslem League represented the Moslems and consequently the political equation followed inevitably that the Congress and the League together represented all India. But in the meanwhile the Hindu Mahasabha had established itself so firmly as a new political power in the land challenging both the Congress and the League, whenever Hindu interest demanded it, that the British Government had to recognise the Mahasabha, by the time Cripps Mission came, as one of the three outstanding All-India Organizations and as the foremost accredited representative body of Hindudom as a whole. To the Congress and many other parties and leaders, the Cripps scheme seemed at first sight sufficiently

alluring to undertake a hopeful survey to discover confidently some oases in that political Sahara. It was the Hindu Mahasabha alone which publicly declared just at the first glance of the scheme that Sir Strafford wanted really to play to the American gallery and carried on those endless negotiations with the Indian politicians just to make them play the tune he called. Not only that but the Mahasabha unerringly and immediately discerned and pointed out the cloven foot concealed under a heap of roses on which the scheme really stood. It was the clause laying down the condition that the declaration of freedom of India could be made by Great Britain only if the Hindus admitted the principle that provinces should be allowed to have the right of self-determination by their own majority to secede from the Central Indian Government and even to set themselves up as States independent of it. This clause constituted a veritable dagger aimed at the heart of the integrity of Hindusthan as an indivisible Nation and a centralized State. The Hindu Mahasabha rejected it unceremoniously and in rejecting the clause, it had to reject the scheme in *toto*. While all other parties including the Congress had tacitly accepted the clause and swallowing that camel, kept straining at the gnats of portfolios here and centralized at a stroke the attention of the whole Nation in general and the Hindus in particular on the real point that mattered most,- while the independence of India was still floating in the hazy clouds of promises alone, the integrity of India was in imminent danger of being stabbed on the back. The lead that the Mahasabha gave by rejecting the scheme at a stroke on this issue was followed after some fuss of negotiations by almost all parties in the land under this or that excuse.

The working Committee which was immediately held regarding the Cripps scheme reasserted in its resolution that in view of the rapid developments in the political situation in the world nothing short of an immediate and unconditional declaration of India's independence could animate and enthuse the whole country to mobilise its full and willing fighting strength both in men and the materials to fight out the war which then would have been our own concern as truly as it was in the case of the British people.

5. It was necessary to demonstrate that the Hindu Sanghatanist world was solidly behind the Hindu Mahasabha on these two fundamental points which compelled the Mahasabha to reject the Cripps scheme. It was, therefore, decoded that an anti-Pakistan day should be observed throughout India by the Hindus under the pan-Hindu colours on the 10th may 1942, which; being the anniversary of the National rising of 1857, had been annually celebrated by the Hindu Mahasabha as the Independence day. Accordingly, this day was observed throughout India under the auspices of the Hindu Mahasabha with intense enthusiasm on an unprecedented scale, Jammu, Peshawar, Poona, Amritsar, Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Patna, Calautta, Bombay, Nagpur down to Madras almost all capital cities and hundreds of towns and villages held innumerable meetings which were altogether attended on that evening by millions and millions of Hindus who took up a public pledge to support the Hindu Mahasabha and to stand by the two fundamental principles on which it has taken its stand, the independence and the integrity of Hindusthan. Although the Moslems were conducting without let or hindrance a pro-Pakistan campaign and men like Mr. Rajagopalachari were allowed to preach vivisection of Hindusthan as freely as they liked, an illegitimate and one sided ban was placed on the anti-Pakistan demonstrations at places like Patna, Arrah and others on this all-India anti-

Pakistan day. But the Hindu Mahasabhaits defied those unjust bans, took out their processions and held meetings even though hundreds of them got arrested for the only fault of asserting their basic civic rights. The determination with which Hindudom as a whole expressed on this day its uncompromising opposition to any scheme which involved the granting to the Provinces the right of secession, proved once more the strength of the hold the Hindu Mahasabha had come to exercise on Hindu mind and how it had thus correctly and effectively than the self-styled Indian National Congress could ever do.

6. The congress, in the meanwhile, was rapidly on the other hand yielding to the pressure of the Moslems and had already got itself committed to the promise that it would not oppose the grant to provinces to secede if the Moslems insisted on it. As if the Moslems had not already insisted on it uncompromisingly enough to brow-beat the Congress itself into submission- Mr. Rajagopalachari in particular got simply possessed of the Pakistani spirit. He actually planned a triumphal tour to convert the benighted Hindus all over India to his new faith. He left madras and selected his own presidency at the outset to infect with the Pakistani epidemic, but the Mahasabhaits were alert everywhere and gave him a hot chase throughout his tour from Madras to Bombay. Dharmaveer Dr. Moonje and Prof. Deshpande, - the indomitable champion of the Hindu cause who has only recently been arrested under the Defence of India Act, - were deputed to tour the Madras Presidency and there along with the veteran Hindu Mahasabhait leader Dr. Varadrajalu Naidu, they dislodged Rajaji so completely from every platform that like the proverbial hare 'whom hounds and horns pursue,' even the redoubtable Rajaji, in spite of the obliging blessings and public sympathies of Gandhiji himself, had to return discomfited 'back to the place from whence at first he flew.' Since then he seems to have left the forum and taken to his table to busy himself with the more congenial task of issuing statements after statements to convince the benighted Hindus that the Moslem demands were just, the Pakistan was the key to Swaraj; two and two do not make four but five!

Just then the Congress had almost made it clear that it meant to start some kind of civil resistance movement, under the usual non-violent dictatorship of Gandhiji. The Hindusabhaits from all parts of India grew naturally anxious to know what attitude they should adopt towards this Congressite movement which was meant to order Great Britain straightway to 'Quit India' forthwith. Now, it was the duty of every Indian patriot and especially of a Hindu patriot to join a movement which had for its goal the absolute political independence of Hindusthan. Abut the question of timing and the ways and means were also of outstanding importance. Even leaving it all aside, the goal to be achieved by any movement was the question of questions which must be decided to begin with. You must know before you go to fight the objective for which you have to fight. The Congress had made it crystal clear by that time that it was ready to agree even to vivisect India as an organic and centralised State in order to placate the Moslems and to persuade them to join the movement. Then again 'Quit India ' was not the only demand which they advanced; but inconsistently enough they added to it a rider which demanded of great Britain that though the British should leave India yet the must retain their British forces and even the American forces behind to protect India against the axis powers invading her. In short, the war-cry of the Congress movement came to '*Quit India but*

keep the British army here and the Americans to boot !!' And the price of the movement for Indian Independence was the vivisection of Indian integrity!! Under such circumstances, it became quite necessary t clear up the issue before the Hindu Mahasabha got committed to any such movement, even though it was primarily meant for freedom of India which was the proclaimed demand of the Hindu Mahasabha itself on its own initiative. Consequently, I laid down the following conditions in my speech in a mammoth meeting in Poona on the Bajirao Maidan on the 2nd of August, the report of which was broadcast and published not only in the Indian press but by the foreign press also, before the A.I.C.C. met in Bombay.

The leading conditions were as follows:-

a) The Congress should guarantee the; integrity of Hindusthan form the Indus to the Seas as an organic nation and an internal centralized State.
b) The Congress should, therefore, openly repudiate the granting of any right to the provinces to secede.
c) Representation in the legislatures, etc. should be in proportion to the population of the majority and the minorities.
d) Public services should go by merit alone.
e) That the Hindu Mahasabha should be recognised as the representative body of Hindudom and consequently no step should be taken affecting Hindu rights without its consultation and sanction.
f) All minorities should be given effective safeguards to protect their language, religion, culture, etc. but none of them should be allowed to create 'a state within a state' as the League of Nations put it, or to encroach upon the legitimate rights of the majority as defined above.
g) The residuary powers should be vested in the Central Government.

Had the Congress agreed to these conditions the Hindu Mahasabha could have considered whether to co-operate with it on any reasonable lines of action. These conditions were so indisputably national that 'the Indian National Congress' in fact ought to have been the first instead of the Hindu Mahasabha to proclaim them if it was genuinely and justly representing the Indian Nation as a whole. But the Congress refused stubbornly to have anything to do with these conditions. Nay, in their resolution at Bombay, the A.I.C.C. actually declared that the residuary powers shall be vested in the Provincial Government instead of the Central, in addition to the concession the Congress had already made to the Pakistanis of the principle of provincial self-determination to secede. The climax came when Gandhiji, after being proclaimed as the *de fecto* dictator of the Congress, wrote an authoritative letter to reassure Mr. Jinnah of his readiness to hand over the whole G0overnment of India including the Indian States to the Moslem League. I quote the relevant passage from the letter itself:-

'In all sincerity, let me explain it again that if the Moslem League co-operated with the Congress for immediate independence, subject of course to the provision that

> Independent India will permit the operations of the allied armies in order to check Axis aggression and thus to help China and Russia, the Congress will have no objection to the British Government transferring all the powers it today exercises to the Moslem League on behalf of the whole of India including the so called Indian India. The Congress will not only not obstruct any Government which the Moslem League may form on behalf of the people, but will even join the Government. This is meant in all seriousness and sincerity.'
>
> \- M.K. Gandhi

Comments are superfluous. The betrayal of Hindu rights or genuine Nationality could have gone no further. Such a letter would have been burnt in protest from thousand platforms throughout India by the enraged Hindu Sanghatanist world, had not restraining counsel prevailed in view of the patriotic objective at issue and had we not been passing through abnormal times.

Were the Hindu Mahasabhaits deliberately to join a fight whose price and inevitable consequence was the vivisection of their own Motherland and Holyland? Then again there were the tactical questions which were also of no less importance regarding the timing, the ways and the means and above all the effectiveness which we could depend upon on sane calculations. This was the crucial and fundamental issue which made the Mahasabhaits in general feel duty-bound not to identify themselves entirely with the Congress movement as it was then vaguely contemplated.

Since then, of course, the Congressites themselves have been disowning avowedly their connection with the present wave of violent disturbances passing over the country. Consequently, we need not take upon ourselves the responsibility of labeling it all as a Congress movement and the question of joining it or otherwise does not arise at all so far as the point under discussion is concerned.

7. Then all of a sudden several hundreds of patriotic Congress leaders including Mahatma Gandhiji were arrested and later on a violent wave of popular discontent and governmental repression of it threw the whole country into turmoil. Today thousands of our Hindu brethren, Congressites and non-Congressites have already suffered or are suffering untold calamities from detention to death. They are all our kith and kin and our deepest sympathies cannot but go out to them in grateful appreciation of the fact that they have faced these sufferings from a patriotic motive or as the result of the patriotic struggle. Unscrupulous goodaism which is inevitably let loose in such great commotions cannot of course deserve any sympathy. But even the British Government or the British public could not but admit that the struggle was essentially the struggle of the people for the freedom of their country. If that be a guilt, then we have all been participating in it and are proud to be guilty of it.

8. But patriotism itself demands that it is a national duty of all of us Hindus to see to it that sympathy with patriotic sufferings must not be allowed to get the better of our judgement and drive us headlong and blindfolded on a path which we conscientiously

believe to be detrimental to the best interest of our Hindu Nation. To make a common cause on a wrong issue or a line of action which is bound to lead to national disaster, simply to present a 'United Front' is not the essence of patriotism, but amounts to a betrayal of national duty. It will be well of those who criticize the Hindu Mahasabha either through indiscretion or impudence for not following the Congress rightly or wrongly for the sake of Unity and because the Congress was actuated by patriotic motives, would do well to remember that patriots also are no exception to the general rule that it is human to err. Those who sincerely think that a particular line of action is detrimental to the Nation and therefore reject it and choose to serve it in the ways and with the means they are convinced to be more effective under the given circumstances to realize a common ideal, cannot be deemed on that ground only as less patriotic that those who acted otherwise. It is regrettable, however, that forgetting this fact, the Congressite press day in and day out have been trying to bring the Hindu Mahasabha into disrepute. Their criticism when reasonable and decent could be met by reasons given above. But the larger part of the Congressite press and propaganda has thrown decency of criticism to the winds and is growing malicious and mad. In righteous defence of the Hindu Mahasabha such criticism must be challenged and checked. Some of these critics seem to be irritated at the thought that the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha did not jump over the walls of the jail the very day Gandhiji and others were arrested for raising such a momentous cry as 'Quit India but keep your army here.' So far as the 'Quit India' is concerned, it is enough to point out that some of the outstanding Mahasabha leaders and followers today raised the standard of Indian Independence for the first time in current History and rose in an armed revolt when Gandhiji and some of the present leaders of the Congress were singing Hallelujahs to the British empire, extolling its blessings and thinking it their duty as loyal citizens and subjects of that Empire to take its side against Zulus and the Boer who were fighting for their freedom. When further on as a consequence of their revolutionary activities, these Hindusabhaits of today had some of them to stand under the shadow of the gallows and others were undergoing the sentences of transportation for life, rotting in Andamanese dungeous for decades on decades if we reasons you do now, were not the present outstanding congress leaders including Gandhiji 'guilty' for not making a common cause with the revolutionists merely for the sake of 'United front' and for not seeking the gallows or getting themselves locked in the cellular jails in the Andamans? Coming nearer, what have you to say regarding the Congress when it not only kept itself at a respectable distance from imprisonment but actually joined hands with the Nizam and took up a pledge 'not to embarrass His Exalted Highness' while thousands of Hindu Sanghatanists were carrying on a deadly struggle with the Nizam for the most legitimate rights of the Hindus and were facing lathi charges, imprisonment and tortures at the hands of the Nizam's Government? Far from sharing these sufferings with the Hindu Sanghatanists, were not the leaders and followers of the Congress strutting about as Ministers of provinces under the British Crown, some drawing fat pays, others rolling in the lap of luxury? And what about Bhagalpur? When for the defence of fundamental civil liberties of freedom of speech and freedom of association not less than one hundred thousand Hindu Sanghatanists carried on an active struggle with the Government of Bihar throughout the six districts which came under the ban, against all the forces which the Bihar Government could draw upon, firings, bayonetting, cavalry charges, not to speak of whippings, imprisonments, etc.-did not the

Congressites stand totally unconcerned and aloof without uttering a word of sympathy with the struggle for civic liberty which the Hindu Sanghatanists were carrying on against the foreign Government of condemnation of that Government?

It they try to explain and justify this conduct on the part of the Congressites as not due to want of public spirit or to a lack of courage but due to an honest difference of opinion on patriotic grounds as to the line of action the principles which the Congress had with the Hindu Mahasabhaits and consequently attempt to justify the Congress on not presenting a 'United front' at the cost of national good as Congressites interpreted it by joining the Hindu Mahasabha, then they should have sense enough to perceive that very justification holds good in the case of the Hindu Mahasabha too because they too did not like to be dragged as moral slaves by whatever the Congress resolution decreed or movements demanded.

Similarly another argument which forms the stock-in-trade of the libelous criticism and propaganda of the Congressites with regard to the policy of the Hindu Mahasabha of occupying centers of political power, howsoever limited it be, springs back upon themselves and unlike the boomerang hits only themselves hard. The Hindu Mahasabha through its elected or supported representatives has now come to occupy responsible positions in political councils, committees, ministries, legislatures, municipalities and such other centers of political power and it is this fact which has pre-eminently contributed to the outstanding political importance which the Mahasabha and through it Hindudom as a whole has come to attain throughout India as never before. It is human that some of the unemployed Congressites should get irritated to find that so many of the 'Jobs' should have fallen into other hands and should make them accuse the Hindu Sanghatanists as mere 'Job-hunters'. We pity them for their irritation. But we cannot excuse them for making a virtue of necessity and go about posing as so many suffering saints who never cared a fig for these very worldly and servile 'Jobs'.

For, was it not only the other day that the Congress from one end of India to the other went on such 'job-hunting'? they agreed to act as Ministers-not as Kings! But servilely enough as ministers-to the Governors, who in their turn were servants of the British Crown. They, who now accuse the Hindusabhaits as helping imperialism took oaths of allegiance to the British Imperial Crown, accepted salaries invited whole troops of their followers and hangers-on to get the loaves and fishes of the Offices, posts and positions distributed only among themselves. They could do only those things which the Governors permitted at their pleasure in the last resort. They laboured under the constitution which they had pretended to despise. Whenever they failed to satisfy this or that section of public they either pointed out to the limitations under which they held office or they sallied out firing and delivering lathi charges on those of their countrymen who disobeyed them or picketed them. If anybody fasted at their doors in protest of their actions they told him bluntly, 'You may lie there comfortably till you die, I must attend my office and do my duty as I choose.' Did not Rajagopalachari himself, the foremost of those ministers, who 'followed the Mahatma,' tell the world in blunt accents in general justification of the actions of the Congress Government that the first duty of the Government was to govern!

Do you condemn the Congress for this 'job-huntings' and rough-riding? Or do you justify all this as patriotic? Do the Congressites explain it all away on the ground that large public interest demanded that even under limitations the Constitution should be worked out to squeeze whatever public good you can get out of it? If you say 'yes' to the latter, then in justifying yourselves you justify the Hindu Mahasabha too in its policy of capturing centers of political power, limited though it be to begin with and standing on that point of vantage, try to leap over and occupy more effective centers of power.

The Hindu Mahasabha holds that the leading principle of all practical politics is the policy of Responsive Co-operation. And in virtue of it, it believes that all those Hindu Sanghatanists who are working as Councilors, Ministers, Legislators and conducting Municipal or any public bodies with a view to utilize those centers of Governmental power to safeguard and even promote the legitimate interests of the Hindus without, of course, encroaching on the legitimate interests of others, are rendering a highly patriotic service to our Nation. Knowing the limitations under which they work, the Mahasabha only expects them to do whatever good they can under the circumstances and if they do not fail to do that much it would thank them for having acquitted themselves well. The limitations are bound to get themselves limited step by step till they get altogether eliminated. *The policy of responsive co-operation which covers the whole gamut of patriotic activities from unconditional co-operation right up to active and even armed resistance, will also keep adapting itself to the exigencies of the time, resources at our disposal and dictates of our national interest.*

It must be remembered in this connection that if there be any 'job-hunters' it is precisely these penny-a-liners who betray such a low taste in their criticism of the Mahasabha and happen to conduct the majority of Congressite second rate sheets and owing to that very fact are within easy reach of the masses. The majority of them, we all know, have not suffered a scratch throughout their life in any patriotic movement and would write for any other party if but they are more sumptuously paid. Many of them are actually known to have done so. It becomes inevitable, therefore, in defence of the Hindu cause that from time to time they too must be shown their proper place.

But I shall do injustice to myself if I fail to make it clear that my criticism against this type of a Congressite does not and cannot mean that all Congressites are equally blind to reason or are deliberately bent on harming Hindu interest or on humiliating Hindu honour which Hindus as they themselves are, cannot but be their own interest and honour.

Nay, I know that many of these patriotic Congressites do actually appreciate the merits of the Hindu Mahasabha as well. Their racial pride as Hindus gets wounded whenever the Congress goes wrong and sacrifices the most legitimate Hindu interests and makes the Hindus undergo most cowardly surrenders. The very fact that thousands of the devoted workers and several all-India leaders, who have now rallied devotedly round the Pan-Hindu Standard had once been actively and prominently working in the Congress camp, is enough to bear out this truth that there are and must be thousands of Hindus in

the Congress camp who cannot bear to see the Hindu cause anathematised by the Congress gut who nevertheless have not yet got rid of the habitual reluctance to get out of the Congress rut and come openly out of it.

But this past experience makes me feel more or less confident that thousands of these of my Hindu brethren who are proud of their race, religion and this their Motherland of the Rishees and the Avatars, will have to leave the Congress before long through the very urge of their conscience and can find them but one path to go ahead in defence of Hindutva,-the path that leads to that Hindu Mahasabha shrine.

9. As soon as Congress was removed from the political field as an open organization under the Governmental ban, the Hindu Mahasabha alone was left to take up the task of conducting whatever Indian National activities lay within its scope. For to call upon the Moslem League to lead any Indian National movement would have rightly enough been taken as an insult by it just as to call the Congress a Hindu body was perversely enough used to be taken by it as an insult. For, India to the Moslem League was but a sub-continent, no Nation at all. But the Hindu Mahasabha believes in an integral Indian Nation even more intensely than the 'Indian National' Congress itself. The first National point that required immediate attention at that time was to expose the hollowness of the British propaganda which wanted the world to believe that the Cripps scheme failed not so much owing to the unwillingness of the British to part with power as to the internecine conflicts of the Indian people. The Cripps scheme was held dazzling before the world as a veritable Magna Charta conferring on India all that could be offered to liberate a people from political slavery and pointing out to it, the British press and propaganda called upon the world to witness how higher constitutions bestowed upon peoples not politically developed enough to deserve them serve only to worsen their condition. The glorious Magna Charta which wanted to invest India with full freedom proved only an apple of discord. As soon as political power was offered to the Indians, instead of receiving it as a United Nation, they sprang at each other's throat, community against community and their ancient civil feuds instead of being healed grew only fiercer. There was no United demand and had we not withdrawn that glorious Magna Charta in time, there would have broken up an immediate and bloody Civil War. Thus the British interpreted the episode to India and the world.

That there was and continues to be communal disunity in India need not be denied. Every country had to pass through such phases including England and America. But the fact that it was the real cause of the withdrawal of the Cripps scheme was a lie and it had to be nailed to the counter, because the British had almost succeeded in duping America and china and even a section in India. The American public and the press which were sympathetic to some extent before the Cripps Mission changed their tone and admitted that England had done all she could and in all sincerity in granting full political freedom to the Indians and that it was really the internal discord amongst the Indians themselves that was responsible for the failure of the scheme.

Above all in India itself the congress and the majority of the Hindus in particular laboured under this supposition that if but we could produce as National demand, a

United scheme, then it will be simply impossible for England to refuse to grant it. That is why the Congress often and often went on its knees before the League. That is why so many all-party and non-party conferences had been held. It was necessary, therefore, even to cure the Indians themselves from this self-deception that some strenuous effort on an all-India scale had to be made. It was also advisable to find out how far the various parties in India did really differ and whether on the two or three questions which concerned all alike some National demand could be framed. It was with this objective in view that the Hindu Mahasabha decided to enter into negotiations with all important political parties and personalities on the three outstanding demands which the Mahasabha had already framed. The immediate declaration of Indian Independence; a National Government with full powers during the war with the exception of the Military portfolio so far as the operative part was concerned and the holding of a constitution-framing assembly as soon as the war ceased: formed the leading clauses in this demand.

A special committee was appointed to conduct these negotiations consisting of the President, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerji, Dr. Moonje, Barrister N.C. Chatterji, Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth, Rai Bahadur Meherchand Khanna and Prof. Deshpande. The response that the Committee received from different parties and eminent persons was encouraging and spontaneous. Under the able leas of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerji on whom fell the real burden of carrying the negotiations, the Committee succeeded in creating such a wave of enthusiasm all over India that the public attention was centered on this topic only. Representatives of the English, the American, and the Chinese press also took keen interest in the developments and gave a prominent publicity in their countries to these efforts of the Mahasabha.

The result also was not quite incommensurate with the troubles taken by the distinguished members of the Hindu Mahasabha Committee and of those Indian organizations and leaders who co-operated with them. Firstly, it was full of significance from the constructive point of view. For, the Committee succeeded in producing a National demand on the most crucial issues referred to above which could not but convince everyone but those who found it inconvenient to get convinced that India as a Nation demanded with a united will and voice the declaration on the part of the British Parliament that she should be recognized here and now as an independent Nation. When the Hindu Mahasabha-the second great all-India Hindu organization to quote Lord Devonshire, the present Under –Secretary of State for India,-with the foremost leaders of our Sikh brotherhood, the President of the Momin Conference, and other Moslem organizations, the President of the Christian Federation, the Nationalist league, the Liberal Federation, along with the then Provincial Ministers of Sind and Bengal and scores of other eminent politicians who had been legislators and administrators and held most responsible positions in the Government,-have signed or supported the demand it had every right to claim for itself and to be recognized as being nothing short of a National demand. When you add to it the fact that the Congress resolution too had more or less emphasized the very items, its national character becomes unassailed. If it even be pretended that such a demand also falls short of a national demand only because the League or some such section chose to remain aloof then no demand ever made by any nation could deserve to be called a national one.

It must be remembered that even the national plebiscites on the strength of whose demand the Canadian or the African or the American Federations were formed were not and could not be considered national or univocal on the sole ground that there was not a single citizen or single party opposed to them. Nay, the fact is that in all such national demands or plebiscites those who voted against them could also count their strength in thou sands. *A national demand must always mean the demand of over-whelming majority of citizens or parties forming those nations,-irrespective of the dissentient minorities.*

When the Mahasabha succeeded in producing a definite demand signed by such an overwhelming majority it served to explode the British pretext and had a very salutary effect not only on that large section of Indians themselves but even on the Chinese, the American and the pro-British foreign press in general which had first acquitted the British for withholding freedom from India and believed that the Chaotic disunity in India itself was really responsible for the withdrawal of the Cripps scheme. Many of them changed their opinion, saw through the game and came to the correct judgement that it was really the unwillingness on the part of Great Britain to let go her hold on India.

As the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, I forwarded this national demand by a cable to the British Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Winston Churchill. I received an acknowledgement from him in which the Prime Minister wrote that he noted with appreciation the endeavours of the Hindu Mahasabha to promote unity among the several elements in Indian life, but observed that they had not so far resulted in any specific and constructive proposals enjoying the support of all the major parties.

Comments need not be made on this reply as the question is already exhaustively dealt with above. Only one point needs to be touched. The only party in India worth mentioning as a major party that did not support the demand was the Moslem League,-not Moslems because we had large Moslem organizations signing the demand. If then the failure of the League to see eye to eye with all other parties in the land is to disqualify a demand from being national, then it only amounts to invest a fraction of a minority, with a power to veto the will of the overwhelming majority of the nation! Of course, even the League must be knowing that the Prime Minister must have been talking with his tongue in his cheek when he referred to the League with such an awful indispensability! If ever the League asks anything or supports anything which goes against the British interest even the League cannot be doubting that the Prime Minister will question its right to speak for the Moslems themselves.

The negotiations were also useful to prove the falsity of the dishonest criticisms of the opponents of the Hindu Mahasabha including the Congressites that it being a communal organization could have no national programme or policy or could take no national lead. It was made clear that the Hindu Mahasabha was more national in its programme and yet less liable to fall a victim to weak-kneed vagaries like the congress or to perverse communalism like the League. In practical politics also the Mahasabha knows that we must advance through reasonable compromises. Witness the fact that only recently in Sind, the Sind-Hindu Sabha on invitation had taken the responsibility of

joining hands with the League itself in running coalition government. The case of Bengal is well known. Wild leaguers whom even the Congress with all its submissiveness could not placate grew quite reasonably compromising and sociable as soon as they came in contact with the Hindu Mahasabha and the Coalition Government, under the premiership of Mr. Fazal Huq and the able lead of our esteemed Mahasabha leader Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerji, functioned successfully for a year or so to the benefit of both the communities. Moreover further events also proved demonstratively that the Hindu Mahasabhaits endeavoured to capture the centers of political power only in the public interest and not for the loaves and fishes of the office. Witness the bold and eloquent statement issued by Dr. Mookerji when he threw away the portfolio the moment he saw that the Governor had made it impossible for him to serve the public and continue in the ministry with any degree of self-respect.

10. Even though we do not contribute in the least to the forlorn hope that Americans, Russians or any other foreign nation will risk its own interest and take up cudgels to free India on account of political justice or a high sense of humanity alone, still we cannot altogether dispense with utility of foreign propaganda, for the very practical reasons, to acquaint the independent nations with the political situation in our country and combat any propaganda set on foot by anti-Hindu parties to mislead their judgement or to secure their sympathies. The very self-interest of each of the nations in the world is so intertwined and got mixed up with the self-interests of others that each of them requires to know and let know the real political situation to the other. Coalitions and counter-coalitions even though they be based on national self-interest of each nation could be advantageously formed if each nation knows the correct political situation in all other countries in the world. Ever since the war begin England launched a world wide propaganda that she was fighting for freedom and democracy all over the world, the Hindu Mahasabha believed not a word of it and openly said so in its resolutions. England, therefore, had to prove to Americans and others that if she could not free India here and now it was due to India's own fault. American interest on this and several other grounds require that if India is satisfied it will be an inexhaustible source of men and materials for them to win the war. So they grew more anxious to study the Indian situation. Before the war broke out America had some hazy notions that there was a National Congress and the Moslem League. The first was a Hindu Body in the main and the League represented the Moslems. Consequently, they thought that the Congress and the League meant the united opinion of the Hindus and the Moslems. They heard now and then something about the Hindu Mahasabha but they did not know how to squeeze it in between the two. They had not the slightest notion that the Mahasabha had come to occupy an outstanding position as an all-India body.

But since my cablegram to President Roosevelt which was featured prominently throughout the American press and through it the world press the attention of the American public and the press was drawn more pointedly to the Mahasabha and a curiosity grew on foreign countries to know more closely its ideology, position and policy. Several press representatives and public men who came to study Indian position in general in the year, from America, England and China interviewed the Hindu Mahasabha leaders also. Some of them wrote back to their respective presses, acquainting

their public with the ideology and the outstanding position of the Hindu Mahasabha as the representative all India body of the Hindus, just as the Moslem League was the representative of Moslem interest. A number of cables sent from the Presidential office and other Mahasabha centers on several occasions got good publicity as the American press representatives assured me. Even American film-men got the Presidential office and the routine work photoed personally for a movie and I am told that the newsreels are shown on the American screens. At the time of the negotiations also the foreign press-agents took keen interest and did considerable propaganda to make the voice of the Mahasabha heard outside India. The contact we have thus succeeded in establishing with American, Chinese and even British public men who interviewed personally the President and several other leaders and with the public press overseas, has already grown intimate enough in making them realize that any pact signed by the Congress alone cannot bind the Hindus, unless and until it is agreed to and sanctioned by the Hindu Mahasabha the foremost representative body of the Hindus nor can any agreement between the Congress and the League alone be taken as an Indian National agreement if the Hindu Mahasabha is not a party to it. This fact will stand us in good stead at the end of the war when the Powers sit together to reshape the map of the world, and if the political constitution of India does form an item on their agenda at all.

11. It was imperative for reasons indicated above that we should send a delegation on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha to America, England and China at any rate, to defeat the British propaganda which was carried on a governmental scale and also to acquaint the American public with the ideology and the policy of the Hindu Mahasabha. That section at any rate which took interest in Indian affairs and knew something of the Congress and the League in these foreign countries must be kept well informed of the Hindu Mahasabha activities also. Consequently, a delegation under the lead of Dr. Moonje and Babarao Khaparde was to be sent to America. Another delegation was to go under the lead of Dr. Varadrajalu Naidu to England to counteract any mischief likely to be done by the move on Rajagopalachari's part, who also wanted to go to England. But as Rajaji was not allowed or did not ask for any facilities, there was no particular point in pressing on for a passport to Dr. Naidu as they were quits. Other outstanding leaders also from Bengal, Punjab and United provinces were consulted in this connection and facilities being denied to Babarao Khaparde and others, at the very outset the question was left further unpursued. The reasons advanced by the Government were various. But the most amusing part of the public criticism in non-Mahasabhait campo was that they condemned along with the Government the very idea of taking out delegations to foreign lands as that would reduce the prestige of our public life and support the British plea that there were dissensions in India. It is bad indeed to wash one's dirty linen in a public square. But the point is who did it first? Did not the British press propaganda go round the globe at the failure of he Cripps Scheme that there were incurable communal dissensions in India with a thousand-tongued voice? Then again do you think that the thousands of Americans and Chinese at present in India have left their eyes and ears in America? And the Germans, and the Japanese? The whole world knows that there are communal dissensions but the whole must also know and does know that no nation in some or the other phases of its history was without its own communal dissensions, wars of secessions or wars of Roses. The point is that as in spite of the dissensions England has bestowed the curse of

slavery on India in spite of her will, so also England can and therefore ought to bestow a blessing of freedom in spite of her dissensions. Just as she is guarding slavery with bayonets she should guard the freedom too. Or she should openly say that she does not want to free India because of the British imperialistic designs and not owing to our dissensions. If the Hindu Mahasabhaits were allowed to go to America our dissensions could not have been a news to the Americans but by acquainting them why these dissensions for them, the delegation would have enabled the foreign public to judge better between the black sheep and the grey wolf.

But nevertheless the Government had done well in inviting Rai Bahadur Meherchand Khanna, President, N.W. Frontier Hindu Sabha to join the delegation to the Pacific Relations Committee. The Delegation has already reached its destination. Rai Bahadur Khannaji is bound to have ringing publicity to his thesis 'Pakistan and the Hindu view' to enable you to judge how rapidly, though not sufficiently rapidly, the Hindu Mahasabha has asserted its position in England and the other countries, I give below a couple of extracts from the brochure published by the Oxford University Press recently and written by R. Coupland who had many occasions to observe the Indian affairs at close quarters when he was touring India, as well as when attached to the Mission of Sir Stafford Cripps, for what they are worth:-

(1) *'Still more vociferous was the Mahasabha the militant Hindu organization which has always maintained that all India is Hindusthan and belongs to the Hindus. For sometime past its leaders have denounced as a vice that very non-communalism which Congress boasts as a virtue. Congress, they say, is an unfaithful servant of Hinduism, and it is one more proof of the existing communal tension that the Mahasabha, which not very long ago had little weight in Indian politics, has been growing fast in membership and influence. Its policy is quite frankly communal. 'Our Moslem country-men should realize,' says its fiery President, Mr. Savarkar, 'that even in their own affairs they should accept the inevitable.*' Etc. page 16.

(2) *'Militant Hinduism, true to form, was more out-spoken. 'The basic principle of the Hindu Mahasabha,' said its Working Committee, 'is that India is one and indivisible, and it cannot be true to itself or to the best interests of Hindusthan if it is a party to any proposal which involves the political partition of India in any shape or form.'* Page 37.
Lord Devonshire, the Under-Secretary of State for India, referred to the Mahasabha as, 'The second great all-India Hindu organization.' If the Congrssites were anxious to secure credentials from the Governors, there is no impropriety if we refer incidentally to some references just to know in what light others view our activities.

12. Till a couple of years ago it were only the Moslems, who were fighting for Pakistan and all our arguments, we had to address to them; but since the Cripps Mission and the Congressites yielding to the Pakistani demand in its worst form as I have shown in paragraph 7 of this speech, a preposterous position has arisen. There has sprung up,

politically speaking, a hybrid mind as rapidly as a contagious and loathsome disease would do. Some of these Congressites are good Hindus, but they have been duped into believing that it is in the interest of the Hindus also to allow the Moslem provinces to secede and bring about a final and everlasting unity. Then there are very statesmanly Hindu personalities who recognize no affiliation to any party or body as it behaves statesmanship but whose commitments, views and votes are nevertheless bound to be counted as Hindu ones. It is regrettable that many of these esteemed persons should have been ready to admit the principle of provincial secession and thus 'statesmanly' enough betray not only the Hindu cause but what they worship like a fettish, the Nationalism as well. How these pro-Pakistani Hindus are working to persuade the Hindus and even to persuade the Government to compel the Hindus to get persuaded can best be illustrated by the untiring effort of Mr. Rajagopalachari. This 'Acharya' has really been exerting himself with more sincerity and perverse fanaticism than any mad-Mullah known to history.

Consequently, the real danger to the integrity of India rises now more eminently from the mentality of the Pakistani Hindus than from the efforts of the Pakistani Moslems. I deliberately choose some of these points to argue, which I know from personal knowledge to weigh heavily on the minds, especially on that section of our Hindu brethren who still belong to the congress persuasion but who nevertheless have a Hindu heart.

(a) It must be noted first of all very carefully that there is a fundamental difference between a provincial re-distribution and provincial self-determination to secede. The latter forms the essence of Pakistan whatever its other aspects or extents may be. There is no fundamental objection from Hindu point of view to any re-distribution of provinces, whether on linguistic, military, financial or any other reasonable ground, provided it does not weaken the national strength or cohesion and does not involve any underlying anti-National and anti-Hindu designs. But the question of provincial secession from the Central State must be altogether ruled out inasmuch as it means nothing short of breaking up Hindustan into pieces before a century passes away.

(b) Again, the granting of the right to provinces to secede from the Central Government at their own sweet will and allow them to set up as separate states, entirely independent of the Central Indian Government is far more dangerous than the demand for Pakistan meaning thereby freedom to cut off definite number of provinces, because they contain Moslem majority. The latter case, -of a Pakistan demand intolerable as it is and which also we must oppose with all our might, does still come to the loss o a definite number of provinces. But the principle of self-determination cannot but form a veritable sword of Damocles kept hanging on the head of the central State. It will be practically an invitation and instigation to any province to secede and blow up at a stroke the whole ground on which the Indian State has to stand. The majority of the Moslems, is the only ground in Pakistani demand for secession; abut in admitting the principle of provincial secession. We shall have to face the demand on the part of any province at any time on any

economical and any other conceivable ground to secede from the Central Government. Remember that the political centralization in India is still passing through a phase of formation. The Indian Central State and the political integrity and cohesion are still standing on a fissury rock. We cannot be cocksure against the change that sometime or other even some of those provinces, where there is not a Moslem majority may be caught up by disintegrating forces and rise against the Central Government and carried away by the provincial or even sub-provincial egoistic fever may demand secession and set themselves into separate states. America, Russia and several other nations can serve as danger signals to us in this connection. In fact, even those nations, which today are strongly unitary, had to pass through this phase and it was only a powerful centrifugal Force which kept the centripetal tendencies on the part of their components, effectively suppressed, till they got slowly eliminated altogether.

(c) Those who think it matters not much to allow the Moslems to form their independent federation on the North. West Frontier Province, in which there is already an overwhelming majority of the Moslems, should take into consideration the Military aspect which makes such a surrender simply suicidal on our part. Can you ever find such a nation on the surface of the earth which would willingly hand over their strongest possible frontiers into the hands of those very people, who seceded from them and had been cherishing a hereditary desire to dominate over it? Then again, remember that on the heels of Pakistan there comes treading the demand for Pathanisthan. Those Frontier Provinces, if they get entirely free from the control of the Central Government are sure within measurable time to join hands with the tribals and from a contiguous Pathani State from Hindukush to the very banks of Zelum. There can be no real unity unless and until this their design which for the very existence of 'Hindusthan' we can never willingly allow to fructify, is not cowardly allowed by letting go our hold on those mountain ranges, which form our National frontiers and frontier guards at once, throughout historical time. But why should we do it at all? To avoid rupture with our Moslem friends? But what guarantee have you to believe that this rupture instead of getting lessened by our handing over our frontier to them as a free gift will not only get intensified? For, is it not more likely that those who are now relatively weak and yet are talking of civil war, once they get an independent footing as a State, sufficient time and liberty to organise themselves and entrenched on the powerful frontier-ranges, grown stronger precisely in the proportion your position grows weaker by the withdrawal of your frontier? Unity, when it lays our nation exposed to more dangerous position is worse than open hostility.

(d) Some of our learned Hindu leaders after most complicated calculations maintain that there is no harm in allowing the Moslems to secede and form Pakistani independent states in the North-Western parts and even in Bengal because they are bound to be so crippled financially and economically that they will soon themselves be compelled to repent for secession and go down on their knees. But this financial weakness need not lead to repentance alone,

as our learned Hindu economists expect. So long as we continue to be so cowardly as to yield to any preposterous demand on the part of the Moslems to keep up the show of unity and so terribly afraid of Moslem discontent as to allow even the integrity of our Motherland to get broken up into pieces-is it nor more likely that this very financial and economical starvation of these would be Moslem states may goad them on to encroach once more on our Hindu provinces and instigated by the religious fanaticism, which is so inflammable in the frontier tribes even now and urged on by the ideal of a Pathanistan under the lead of the organized forces of the Ameer, may threaten to invade you if you do not handover to them the remaining parts of the Punjab right up to Delhi to make them financially and economically self-supporting? The example of the Tribes is before your eyes already. They carry our incursions almost every year into the Indian provinces and loot, kidnap, murder, hold to ransom only the Hindus in particular as a rule. Although they are goaded on by Moslem fanaticism in the main, yet several Cogressite Hindus were not found wanting in disgracefully condoning these nefarious activities of the tribal Pathans on the ground of ‘financial and even sexual starvation’ from which those ‘Poor souls’(!) had to undergo inordinate sufferings. I am referring to facts howsoever disgraceful they may be and not to fictions. What guarantee there could ever be that given this cowardly and ever-yielding inferiority complex on the part of the Hindus and this monomania for Hindu-Moslem Unity ‘at all cost’ – that in case these financially starved Pakistani provinces invade the Hindu provinces on their borders with far greater strength than they can now- ever command- a troop of Hindus of such mentality would not similarly condone their encroachments, sympathise with their demands and to vote for handing over even Delhi to those invading Moslems before a shot is fired in order just to make a show before the world of a genuine Hindu-Moslem unity or alliance? The ‘Poor’ Moslems in eastern Bengal are even now making their poverty a sufficient excuse and their fanaticism a merit, to loot and harass the Hindus whenever they find an opportunity to do so. When once you allow them to get organized into governmental strength as a separate Moslem Raj,- do you think that this very financial starvation which you admit will cripple their would-be State, would provide them with a compelling cause to invade or harass the Hindus in Western Bengal and unless you are cured of this unity-mania, would you not be faced again with the same bogey-an alternative of handing over some rich slices of Bengal to save the Moslem State from perpetual starvation or be prepared to resist their perpetually growing demand?

(e) But some of my Pakistani Hindu friends whisper in my ear, ‘We Know all these things, but our yielding for the time being is a craftiest stroke of policy. When we once get rid of these troublesome Moslem provinces and are left free to organize unhindered by them the unalloyed part of Hindusthan, then we shall consolidate our Hindus and raise them into such a mighty military power so rapidly, that the Pakistani provinces of the Moslems would be simply brow-beaten into submission.’ The only question that should be put to them by themselves is, ‘Have you got any definite guarantee from the British

that as soon as you yield to the Pakistani demand, they would clear out and leave you to organize your Hindusthan as you choose?'

Secondly, even if that is done where is the magic wand that shall raise the Hindus into such a military power, while congress mentality continues to dominate a thousand of them? We thank you for your inner intention of raising the Hindus into an independent and strong power and for feeling as a Hindu of Hindus but do you not think that the Moslem too would utilize that interval with a vengeance to strengthen their position and amalgamating themselves with their kith and kin across the frontier grow quick into a powerful Pathanisthan here or a Pakistan there? Mind you, they have not a single Congressite among them and on the other hand, the Moslem minority in every province of your would be Hindusthan would be dominating even Congressite Hindus here as they are doing today creating the same troubles over again and demanding that you must come to terms with the Pakistani States by sacrificing some more Hindu provinces on the alter of the fettish of Hindu-Moslem unity as our 'patriotic' 'Azad' and 'Allis' have been purposively doing today. And if you as a staunch Hindu realize that, in that case somewhere or the other, we shall have to resist the Moslems, then would it not be better to resist them today by flatly refusing even to listen to their insulting and intolerable demand, when they are relatively weaker and when we can prove relatively stronger by simply changing our yielding mentality and replacing it by the Hindu Sanghatanist Ideology, pointing out to the aggressive tendency of the Moslems their right place and command them 'thus far no further'.

(f) Some of our wise men also are labouring under the misconception that the question or Pakistan is just like the Ulster phase in Ireland. But the fact is that they are committing a grievous error in comparing the two and suggesting that just as the Irish accepted an Ulster we Hindus should accept the Pakistan. In Ireland there was a question of only a small corner to be set aside as Ulster. But the Pakistani demand seeks to break up India into a number of separate Moslem States and insist that there should be no Central Government of India at all; worst than that the principle been not accepted or tolerated by the Irish there would have been no integral Ireland today. This principle of provincial secession if accepted by the Hindus would sound the death-knell of our national cohesion, integrity and unity.

(g) The chain of reasoning which has succeeded over these Pakistani Hindus comes to this:- we want Swaraj. England is not going to bestow Swaraj unless and until there is a United demand and univocal constitution framed by Hindus and Moslems together. Moslems have made it clear that they will not join the Hindus in producing a united demand unless and until they are not allowed to break up integrity of India and the Pakistani States are allowed to be set up with an connection with any Central Government. Therefore we must satisfy the Moslems, yield to their Pakistani demands and get Swaraj.

Now almost every word in this chain of reasoning is fallacious and the whole chain of reasoning is based on a foolish hope. Although we want Swaraj, yet that Swaraj must mean the Hindusthani Swaraj in which Hindu, Moslem and all other citizens all have equal responsibilities, equal duties and equal rights. Such a Swaraj would not even tolerate a particular community on religious grounds to get itself cut off from the Central Government, demand portions of our country which is the inalienable basis on which this our national Swaraj stands and any such aggressive claim on the part of a community would be immediately put down as an act of treachery by the united strength of the Central Government. Secondly, it is silly to believe that England is only waiting for a united demand and would walk our to India as that rag, singed by the Hindus and Moslems, is handed over to them. I emphatically assert that even if the Congress, Hindu Mahasabha and the League produce a United demand signed by all the crores of Indian citizens and ask univocally for independence, Britain will never give it for the mere asking. The superstition that if but the Congress and the League demanded with one voice anything in the world the demand would immediately prove irresistible, is responsible for making the real assets of the League inflated beyond all proportions. As soon as the League does join the Congress and even the whole of India goes to England with a common demand, England will say 'well boys, you have behaved wonderfully. Hindus, Moslems, all united in a common demand for Independence. But as, all of you untied, are still unitedly helpless, disarmed and unable to protect yourself, great Britain must continue to rule over you even for the moral obligation to save you from the foreign aggression and you own internal anarchy. So, on the whole, all that you do in this bargain is to pay the price knowing perfectly or rather foregoing with open eyes that the substantial thing for which you paid the price can never be delivered over to you. And after all what is the price? Vivisection of your Motherland and of your Holyland-the liquidating altogether of the spiritual, racial and above all the political unity and of the certain chances of its rapid consolidation.

And above all, if we grant for the sake of argument that paying such a tremendous price for your racial honour and future you are handed over a Swaraj by the British on conditions laid down by the Moslems :- What kind of Swaraj and whose Swaraj it can possibly be? It can in no way be a Swaraj in which the 'Swatva' of the Hindus is safeguarded for reasons which I have already shown above at some length. Any independence which is achieved at price of admission of and the brittle basis of the principle of the provincial secession is bound to be like a house raised on a crater of a living volcano.

(h) I appreciate in this connection the emphasis the Viceroy has laid at least on the geographical unity of India and the fervent appeal His Excellency has made, in his recent Calcutta speech, to maintain the integrity of our country on the grounds of practical politics also. Reasonable safeguards to the minorities must be given and the League of Nations has already shown us the way on one of the world-famous documents formulating what reasonable safeguards to minorities really mean. But the Viceroy, perhaps inadvertently, used the

term 'fully satisfactory to the minorities, instead of qualifying the safeguards as 'reasonable.' Fortunately our countrymen belonging to the Parsi, Jew and Christian communities have extended their readiness to abide by the safeguards laid down as reasonable for the minorities which the Hindu Mahasabha also is ever willing to guarantee. The fact is that it is not a question of minorities, but of one minority, the Moslem minority alone. To say that the safeguards must be fully satisfactory to the Moslem minority is to stultify the whole statement because the only safeguard which can be satisfactory to the Moslem minority is, as definitely told by them, to lay an axe at the root of Indian integrity. Thus we are caught in a vicious circle. The self-destructive solution that, to save the integrity of India as a nation let us kill it outright in order to satisfy the Moslems, is like that of some clans who, to save their daughters form dishonour when they grew used to kill them as soon as they were born.

(i) Consequently taking all these above reasons into consideration it will be crystal clear to the Hindus who have still kept an open mind on this question that even yielding the principle or provincial secession or Pakistan in certain provinces could never bring about the Hindu-Moslem Unity but such a move will throw Hindus alone into a hopeless predicament. There is no chance whatsoever for the cowardly hope even though they feel that it is a crafty one, to be realized that this or that concession to the Moslems is bound to prove final and ushering in a permanent and amicable alliance between the tow people, so long as it is you who yield, so long as the Moslems who would be fools to give up their aggrandisation on Hindusthan and the Mohammedans are certainly no fools in so far as this ambition is concerned. Invasions against the Kafirsthans is in their grain. They are fed on real or boosted up stories of their conquests; and the only way to hold them in check is to make them realize that any such mad dreams would cost them much more than it would, to their opponents. That is why Mr. Jinnah, who speaks in the accents of an Alexander the Great, the conqueror of the world when he addresses some local meetings of his admirers brandishing a presented sword here or there, threatening the Hindus alone, has never displayed the courage of threatening an armed revolt against the English who in fact are comfortably seated on the very Gadi of the Moguls and left no trace of the Moslem Empire throughout India for he knows that the consequences would be immediately terrible.

(j) The only organized body that had the courage to tell the Moslem that the consequences of their efforts to destroy Indian integrity would be in the long run as terrible had been the Hindu Mahasabha alone. Oh! Hindu Sabhaits and Hindu Sanghatanists you form the last citadel in which the Hindu Hope and Hindu Future have come to seek refuge and take its last stand for the sake of honour, if not fro immediate success and among the faithless crowd of Hindus themselves, you form the last faithful army which has rallied round to defend and hold up the Pan-Hindu colours as our ancestors did under such trying circumstances at Chitor! If you at any rate, Oh! Hindu Sanghatanists, do not betray yourselves and that tradition of Chitor, them rest assured you will in

near future be able to sally our or by your falling ii the struggle as indomitable and uncompromising warriors enable your Race to sally out of the Chitor of Martyrdom-to the Raigad of Victory! Come out then to assert boldly and uncompromisingly on behalf of Hindudom-that

> Just as in America, Germany, china and every other country not excluding Russia, so also in Hindusthan, the Hindus by the fact that they form an overwhelming majority are the Nation and Moslems are but a community because like all other communities they are unchallengeably in a minority. Therefore they must remain satisfied with whatever reasonable safeguards other minorities in India get and accept as reasonable in the light of the world formula framed by the League of Nations. We may adapt it to Indian circumstances by concessions more or less on minor questions but no minority in India shall be allowed to demand to break up the very integrity of Hindusthan from Indus to the Seas as a condition of their participation in the Central Government or Provincial ones. No province whatsoever, by the fact it is a province shall be allowed to claim to secede from the Central State of Hindusthan at its own sweet will. Hindusthan as a nation can have a right of self-determination but a province or a District or a Taluka can have no right to run counter by the strength of their own majority to the law and the will of the Central Government of Hindusthan. All we can in fairness promise is to grant a representation to all Indian citizens on the general principle of 'one man one vote' or if that is not found to the taste of the Moslems we may go a step further and base all representation strictly on population proportion. We know for certain that those minorities like Parsis, Christians and others who have expressed unmistakably their loyalty to united, undivided and indivisible Indian Nation and the Indian State with reasonable safeguards are with the Hindus and willing to work shoulder to shoulder for Indian independence. It will be well for the Moslems even in their own interest to bear faithful allegiance to the Indian nation on the same conditions offered to other minorities. But if the Moslems mistaking the pseudo-national yielding attitude of Congress fro the attitude of Hindudom as such persist in their outrageous and treacherous demand for Pakistan or the principle of provincial self-determination then it is time, you Oh! Hindu Sanghatanists, that you must proclaim your formula from the very tops of the Himalayas. 'We don't want Hindu Moslem unity at all on such conditions.' If you come, with you, if you don't, without you, and if you oppose, in spite of you, we shall fight as best as we can to secure independence and defend the integrity of Hindusthan! Hindusthan shall and must remain an integral and powerful nation and a Central State from the Indus to the Seas, treating any movement on the part of any one to vivisect it, as treacherous and strongly suppress it just as any movement of Negrosthan would be promptly punished by the American nation!!

13. All laws are but generalizations primarily based on detailed observations. The detailed observation of the history of Hindus through centuries on centuries points incontrovertibly to the fact that the Hindu Nation is imbued inherently with such and amazing capacity of resurrection, of renissance, of rejuvenation that the moment, which finds them completely overwhelmed by anti-Hindu forces is precisely the; moment which ushers in the day of Deliverance-to quote the *Pouranic* Style-of the birth of an avatar. It was in the darkest hour of the Night that Shri Krishna was born. It is this indomitable spirit of the inherent vitality that enabled our National Being to prove almost immortal in relation to other races or nations-ancient or modern-and invested it with that strength which ultimately demolished and swept away all anti-Hindu forces, which raised their head from time to time against us. This in no mere rhodomontade I am indulging in. leaving aside even the Pouranic period, and the Huns, Shakas or even taking into consideration the Moslems who came as conquerors, this is the gist of well-authenticated Hindu History.

The Moslems came as conquerors, but stayed too long to be conquered by the Hindus and beaten to a chip in a thousand and one battlefields till at last the mighty Moslem Empire which rose like a rocket, fell like a stick, till eventually Hindu horse of Victory rode off unchallenged from Attack to Rameshwar, from Dwarka, Jagganath.

To validate this historical fact, only look at these two following pictures:- Just take up the map of India about 1,600 A.D. the Moslems ruled all over Hindusthan unchallengeably. It was veritable Pakistan realized not only in this province or that but all over India- Hindusthan as such was simply wiped out.

Then open out the map of India about 1700 A.D. and what do you see? The Hindu forces are marching triumphantly throughout India. The very Mogul throne at Delhi is smashed to pieces literally with a hammer by Sadashivrao Bhau, the Generalissimo of the Maratha! Our Hindu-Sikh brotherhood does ultimately deliver Punjab from the Moslem yoke and rule supremely from the borders of Tibet to the banks of Kabul river; the Gurkha-Hindus rule in Nepal. While the Marathas from Delhi to Rameshwar have planted the triumphant Hindu flag from capital to capital, from temple to temple. The Pakistan actually realized by the Moslems was entombed and out of its rose up once more Hindusthan-resurrected and triumphant. The conquering Moslem had to eat the humble pie in the long end and got so completely crushed an weaned of his dominating dreams that even today in his heart of hearts he shudders to think of his fate as soon as he sees the probability of the consolidated strength of the overwhelming Hindu majority in the land.

It would be good to the Moslems themselves if they once realize the import of this historical truth. The fate which overtook them even when they had succeeded in translating whole Hindusthan into an actual living and mighty Pakistan, ought to warn them of the miserable future they would have in store if they persisted in dreaming wildly of a Pakistan which is today but an airy nothing, a forlorn hope!

14. The Hindu Mahasabhaits should remember that as is very probable they will be called upon to fight out any attempt on the part of the Moslems to thrust the Pakistan on us, whether by resorting to the 'revolt' whatever the Leaguers may mean thereby, then the entire burden, responsibility and consequently the merit also will be yours in facing the struggle single-handed. The congress-minded Hindus, the worshippers of pseudo-Nationality would not only be of no use to you, but would actually try to combat you and try to put you into a false position by their willing surrender to the Moslem demands as Hindus. You should, therefore, try to mobilize your Forces and reserve whatever strength you can command for this defence of the integrity of India, which no one else but you alone may defend. You are the salt of Hindudom; but if the salt loses its flavour, with what shall it be slated? Independence of Hindusthan has no meaning at the cost of its fundamental integrity as a state and a nation. It may be thrust on us even as the British rule is thrust on us but just as that does not deprive us of the right of struggling for our freedom with England, even so if we but do not betray our own conscience and sign willingly any or all schemes, proposing percentages, plebiscites, which are growing in abundance like mushrooms either out of panic or pusillanimity you will find yourself soon in a position to press on both the demands regarding independence and integrity and together get them realized through your own strength.

So far as the most determining factor of all secondary movements the world war is concerned, neither parties of either the Axis or the allies has as yet secured any result so decisive as to invest it with an unquestionable superiority. Consequently, the best policy for all nations situated as we Hindus are, is to continue to sit on the fence and watch the results, keeping ourselves all the while as well organized, as well-informed and as tactfully ready to take as much advantage of the last results, when the war ends.

15. In view of this indecisive aspect of the war and the necessity for the Hindu Sanghatanists to keep mobilized their forces for the resistance which they are very likely to be called upon to offer and continue fighting the anti-Pakistani struggle single-handedly and owing to our inability howsoever regrettable but which must be recognized as an actuality, to enter the world combat on our own account to win back our Independence, the most far-sighted and practicable programme which, if carried on

faithfully and handicapped though we are, while the war continues without arriving at any decisions, is as follows-

(a) To continue a hundred times more intensely the Hindus Militarization Movement and try to get recruited and enlisted as many Hindus as possible in the Army, Navy, the Air Forces, Ammunition Factories, War Technicians, etc. The results of this movement are already so encouraging as to make it quite superfluous now on my part to marshal out all the arguments I had been doing so often. When the war began, the percentage of the Moslems had so dangerously gone high in the Army as 62 percent. This was the result of the Gandhist policy denouncing the soldier as sinner and the spinner as the greatest spiritual warrior, who alone was the real liberator of the land and was sure with the music of his spinning wheel to win over the hearts of all Hitlers, Stalins, Churchills and Tojos. But ever since the Hindu Mahasabha found that the war had made it incumbent on the Government to throw the doors of the Army, Navy and the Air forces open to the Hindus, it whipped up military enthusiasm send thousands and thousands of Hindus to all branches of the military forces of the land. The result as has recently been declared is that the percentage of the Moslems in the Army has gone from 62 to 32 per cent. This must also be reduced to some 25 in just accordance with the population proportion of Hindus and Moslems. The Hindu Mahasabha branches all over India must start Militarization Boards to send to the forces of the land the best and the bravest of the Hindus. If any province or a district wants to study an organization board which has proved most competent in this respect it should do well to study personally the working and the results achieved by the Militarization Mandal at Poona under the able lead of our esteemed Hindusabhait leader Sjt. L.B. Bhopatkar. Hundreds of promising Hindu youths have already secured King's Commissions, Viceroy's Commissions and are leading the forces with efficiency and merit and getting an up-to-date knowledge and practice of warfare in different battlefields. The same can be said of the Air-forces. Believe me that nothing can stand the Hindus in better stead even after the war, as this Hindu militarization will do. I assure every Hindu soldier and officer, who are now serving in the Indian Army, Navy or the Air Forces, etc. that they are doing as patriotic a service to their Nation as those who went to jail at Bhagalpur, if not more. The immediate defence of our hearths and homes does also make it incumbent to make a common cause with the British forces, till they are in the field.

(b) Continue to capture all centers of political power from the Central Executive Council, Legislatures, Defence committees and Councils, Municipalities, Ministries in the Civic part of the government just as on the military side. The men who come to occupy these centers of power must be either elected by the Hindu Mahasabha or supported by it as Independent Hindu Sanghatanists. But in no case should a Hindu be trusted with any such centre of power who by persuasion belongs to the pseudo-Nationalistic Congress school and glorifies more in betraying Hindu rights to the Moslems than in defending them against Moslem encroachment.

(c) Do not fritter away your energies or keep your Sanghatanists forces shackled down in any untimely and tactless movement which pursuing high sounding slogans loses more than gains in the long run. Remember it is not the slogan but the strength that counts. Under the war fever only arms speak and can dictate, not only slogans howsoever high sounding.

(d) But you must, because you can, give fight on detailed questions, in defence of the civic rights of the Hindus when they are locally attacked or humiliations deliberately offered to the Hindu honour or any just grievance or to face any anti-Hindu riots, as we have already been doing year in and year out. Only those issues which are beyond our power to tackle and are to be fought out on an all-India scale against armed forces overwhelmingly more powerful than those we can rally, disorganized and disarmed as we relatively are, should not be taken up just now. Time and strategy demand that we should leave them till we are in a better position.

(e) In the meanwhile, in order to mobilize our forces and keep them prepared for any emergency such as the Pakistani struggle, we should continue the constructive activities to make our Hindu Mahasabha organisation as strong as possible. The general and suicidal error which makes as under-value constructive programme, which we could easily carry out even during the war time, must be immediately corrected. Even the war-time must be utilised all the more intensely by enlisting as many members, starting branches at as many places down to Talukas and villages and keeping them well organised and working, is a duty which the Hindu Mahasabha must continue to do and can do even now with a hundredfold speed and activity.

(f) Remember also that the removal of untouchability is a task as easy to be tackled as it is bound to strengthen Hindu consolidation. It will be nothing short of a victory won in the battlefield if we, within five year's time, can sweep out untouchability from the face of our country by killing the very idea of not touching our co-religionists on ground of birth in a particular alone, and removing automatically the special disability, some economical and some social, form which those of our religious brothers are suffering most unjustly at this hour. It is only a change of mentality and nothing more than that can achieve this seemingly insuperable task. If every one of the Hindu Sanghatanists simply says and begins to act on it 'I would not look upon anyone of my co-religionists as untouchable simply on account of birth in a particular caste'- the question will be solved without a farthing's cost or the least measure of suffering and we shall have a veritable army of some three crores of our co-religionists fighting shoulder to shoulder with us under Pan-Hindu flag on behalf of Hindudom.

(g) So long as the war continues without reaching any decisions, this is the most profitable and the most tactical programme which the Hindu Mahasabhaits and the Hindu Sanghatanists can work out before the war introduces any revolutionary factor, concerning our own country so as to demand our first attention and compels us to adapt ourselves to it forthwith.

16. All our present programmes, it need not be mentioned, are based on the assumption that Britain comes out at any rate so successful, of this World War, as to continue to be the Sovereign power in India. Nothing has happened so far, so cataclysmic as to undermine the probability of this assumption. But then the forces of Japan are hanging on so persistently on our eastern borders undislodged to any appreciable measure and on the other hand the Axis powers have been surrounded at any rate for the moment by a veritable hornet of irritated nations, that no one even among the most optimistic statesmen or commanders or dictators is in a position with any certainty or definiteness the results of the war. Till that along with those nations who cannot but helplessly watch their destinies tied up with the fortunes either of the powerful combatants on both sides, India too disarmed as it is must bide her time and tide.

The dice of destiny are loaded already, and recklessly thrown on a world battlefield! All nations are thrown in the crucible! The very seas are on flames, and the skies are garrisoned with and showering thunderbolts day and night. No nation after this world war can emerge just as it was. Many of those who were at the pinnacle of their power will be reduced to the dust. Many who were trampled down in the dust may all of a sudden find themselves in a position to rise and come to their own. The face of the earth is bound to get revolutionized in any case and in that revolutionary upheaval which at present lies in the pap of the War Gods, one thing only could be said with some certainty

so far as India is concerned that she also cannot but be one of the factors whose future is bound to get revolutionized though we cannot and may not point out definitely the course and the aspects of it. One thing you may rest assured that all possible courses and aspects are already viewed as carefully as human ingenuity can and neither the continuation nor the termination of the war can find the Hindu Mahasabha unprepared to take full advantage of every revolutionary phase the war passes through, near or far off, so as to press on the Hindu cause. As has happened so many times in the Hindu history that it was precisely in the darkest hour that the Avatar destined to deliver us was born, it is not quite unlikely, nay, it is more likely than not, that the spirit of Renaissance of the Hindu Race may find an opportunity to assert itself and as if by a miracle similar to those our Puranas sing, Hindudom emerges triumphant over all the forces of evil which are attacking it today.

About possibilities and even about probabilities wise men should not assert anything more definitely in such cases than pious hopes! All that they should do is to conserve the forces of their nation in the meanwhile, and wait for the probable time and tide, so that they may not be found wanting, if the probability does arise all of a sudden.

Hindu Sabhaits and Hindu Sanghatanists! Only see to it that on the eve of such a probable, miraculous development in near future, do not play coward to your conscience under the weight of the present or get stampeded by the pseudo-nationalistic forces into any unbecoming pacts and do not sell your birth-rights fro the mess of pottages, and play coward to your own conscience! Hold fast to the programme chalked out above for the present, plain though it may seem and get not yourselves trapped into any untimely outburst, which, instead of bringing you near success may only serve to find you entirely disabled, to catch the tide of fortune which in all probability is likely to reach your shores under the pressure of the war!

In any case, hold fast to the crux of the Hindu Sanghatanist ideology which shall serve you in any event the Future may unfold, namely:-

'Hinduise all politics and Militarise Hindudom'!
Hindu Dharm ki jaya! Hindu Rashtra ki Jaya!
Vande Mataram

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Statement of Resignation

(1)

The following statement was issued by Veer Savarkarji on 31-7-1943 from his presidential Office, Savarkar Sadan, Bombay:

'Inasmuch as even the sixth year of my Presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha is rapidly drawing to its close, I feel that the time has come for announcing my decision to resign the Presidentship and request the Mahasabhait electorate, without in any way impudently trespassing on its right of liberty of choice, to relieve me of this high office, by not including my name even in the first panel of the election of President for the next year.

The heavy work involved in discharging my duties as the President continuously for six year has visibly affected my health and secondly I have also felt time and again, as will be shown in my statement issued on the occasions of my former resignations, that I should myself come forward to help the electorate to select some one of our able colleagues to act as a President of the Hindu Mahasabha for the year.

In this connection it should be noted that this is not the first time I am tendering my resignation although it must definitely be the last one now. When I fell seriously ill in August 1940 and when inspite of it I was elected to president over the Madura Session I tendered my resignation for the first time. But owing to the most cordial pressure of Hindu Sanghatanist public all over India and the Reception Committee in particular which wrote to me that the session itself would not be held with any amount of success if did not withdraw my resignation, I accepted the Presidentship for the fourth time and could only be taken on a stretcher to attend the session. Next year in 1941, I again resigned for the second time but was elected almost unanimously for the fifth time. Just then the Bhagalpur question came to a head and to defend Hindu honour I thought my duty required me to stick to my guns. Consequently, I accepted even the dictatorship of the civil-resistance campaign and faced imprisonment at the head of thousands and thousands of our Hindu Sanghatanist co-workers who fought out the struggle to an undeniable success. That task over, I tendering my resignation for the third time in July 1942. but the Working Committee refused to accept it and would not proceed to work till I withdrew it.

Just then the Congress movement of 'Quit India But Keep Your Army Here' was launched and later on it came to my noticed that some of the leading Congressites who were outside the jail had actually conspired to capture the Hindu Mahasabha itself because it refused to serve the Congress as a handmaid. They wanted to use it to take the Congress-nuts out of fire and make the Mahasabha has been proved to demonstration by later events. In order to ward off this danger in time and to expose and frustrate this conspiracy I resolved not only not to resign but contest the election. This was the only time when I actually contested it. Backed up by the wisdom and the overwhelming confidence of the Hindu Mahasabhait electorate I was again almost unanimously elected for the sixth time in continuous succession to the Presidentship. The session at Cawnpore

passed an uncompromising and emphatic resolution not only against the Pakistan scheme but even against the vicious principle of Provincial self-determination to secede from the central Indian State. The Hindu Militarization movement received a fillip and all attempts to Congressify the Hindu Mahasabhas were brought to naught to the great chagrin of the Congress stalwarts as Mr. Rajagopalachariar who publicly bewailed—'Even those few leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha who more or less sympathized with my formula regarding Hindu-Moslem Unity fell a prey to crowd psychology at Cawnpore.'

This short recapitulation of events will show that I have time and again tried to lay down the reigns of the Presidentship for the very reasons indicated above in para two for which I have now definitely made up my mind to resign. This clarification is meant to forestall any misinformed or mischievous attempt to attribute y resignation to any other reason than those indicated above. It is precisely because I feel that the Hindu Mahasabha is by far the stronger and more consolidated organization today than ever before that I have chosen this particular time to resign. Even an adversely inclined critic like Prof. Coupland, a member of the 'Cripps Mission' has remarked in his recent booklet—The Hindu Mahasabha is a militant organization of Hindus which has been growing fast in membership and influence.'

I rejoice, while tendering this resignation, to see that I have been able to do so while I am in possession of the fullest confidence and affectionate regard of the Hindu Sanghatanist world as a whole throughout India. Millions of my countrymen and co-religionists who participated in the celebrations of my Diamond jubilee only last month have,--through the resolutions passed at thousand and one meetings in almost all capital cities, towns and villages, through the addresses given to me by local bodies, associations and literary and religious institutions, through messages I received from hundreds of most prominent Hindu leaders including those who did not formally belong to the Hindu Mahasabha organization, through the special numbers of leading periodicals and editorials in papers in the country,--given most touching expressions to their grateful appreciations of the humble services I rendered to the Hindu Cause and have assured me of their fullest confidence and trust in me and the Hindu Ideology I advocate.

In all humility I than the Hindu Sanghatanist public and all my comrades and colleagues in particular for this their overwhelming kindness, confidence and even forbearances they showed for whatever shortcomings they might have noticed in me.

It is needless to add that in spite of this resignation of its Presidentship I shall ever continue as a soldier in its rank and file and serve the Hindu Mahasabha in furtherance of the Hindu Cause.

LONG LIVE THE HINDU MAHASABHA !

'Long Live Hindudom!!'

(2)

The following statement was issued by Veer Savarkarji on 17-12-1943 from his Presidential Office, Bombay:

'I gratefully acknowledge the kindness, confidence and appreciation of the work done, expressed by the Hindu Mahasabha electorate in entrusting me with the Presidentship of the Mahasabha for the seventh time in an unbroken succession, in spite of my resignation pending before the Working Committee. But as I have been fearing long since, my health has steadily declined and I have been confined to bed for last fort-night by an acute attack of bronchitis. My medical advisers are definitely against my undertaking any long journey especially to apart where severe cold prevails. I must, therefore, request the Hindu Sanghatanist public to excuse my inability to attend the next Silver Jubilee Session of the Hindu Mahasabha at Amritsar.

I have already referred this matter to the Reception Committee and to Dharmaveer Dr.Moonje, to call the Working Committee as it is laid down in our constitution, to consider this question and select some one of our foremost leaders to officiate in my stead as the President. My personal view in this matter is that Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee should be unanimously elected to officiate in my stead as the President, especially in view of the fact that it will be very long for me to recoup my health and energy to work with full efficiency.

Nevertheless the decision of the working Committee must be held final.

I exhort every Hindu Sanghatanist who can, to attend the Session at Amritsar. The Reception Committee at Amritsar has left no stone unturned to render this Silver Jubilee of the Mahasabha as grand a success as possible. From my sick-bed I cannot express at length the special significance why Hindudom should rally round the Pan-Hindu Flag on the occasion of Silver Jubilee Session so as to demonstrate the mighty mental revolution that has already come to sway the Racial Soul of the Hindu Nation.

All I can say in this short statement is this that if but Hindudom does not betray itself and does rise equal to the occasion as it has done a hundred times in centuries gone by—then the day of the birth of the Hindu Mahasabha is bound to be marked red in the Hindu history before long as the day of the birth of an Avatar: 'the Saviour of the Hindu Nation'—as the day of birth of a New Yug: the Hindu Yug.

(3)

The following Telegraphic message dated 1-8-1944 was sent by Veer Savarkarji to Dharmaveer Bhopatkar, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, to welcome Dr. Syama Prasadji on the occasion of his visit to Poona:

‘ I join you in welcome Dr. Mookerjee. Hindudom is indebted to him so much for his monumental services and his recent condemnation of Provincial self-determination to secede from the Central Government and his determination to oppose Indian vivisection that I for one wish that the crown of thorns of the Presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha, the highest honour that Hindudom can offer be bestowed on him next year.’

End of Book Hindu Rashtra Darshan

Composed and created by

Chandrashekhar V.Sane